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FROM THE BEQUEST OF
JOHN HARVEY TREAT
OF LAWRENCE, MASS.
CLASS OF 1862

RECOMMENDATIONS.

The undersigned have examined portions of the Rev. Daniel De Vinne's *History of St. Patrick and of the Early Church in Ireland.* They have not had time to read every page of the manuscript, but their examination has been sufficiently thorough to enable them to form an opinion as to its merits.

The work takes up a period of Church History which abounds in points of curious interest. The writer has obviously studied his subject with care, and examined the chief sources of information with industry and judgment. Some of his points are novel, both in conception and execution. The book, as a whole, will be interesting and attractive, not only to ministers and students of Church History, but also to general readers.

We recommend it to Messrs. Carlton & Lanahan for publication.

JOHN MCCLINTOCK.

Madison, Dec. 1, 1869. B. H. NADAL.

From the Editor of the N. Y. Observer.

The cursory glance that I have taken of Mr. De Vinne's History, leads me to believe that it possesses elements of great interest and value, and that its publication will be both popular and useful. S. IRENÆUS PRIME.

From the late Bishop Thomson.

I have read the MSS. of Chapter V, on Irish Missionaries, in the work of Mr. De Vinne, entitled "Irish Primitive Church," and found it to be exceedingly interesting and valuable. I have no doubt the work is a good one, and that it will meet with an extensive sale.

E. THOMSON.

From Bishop Simpson.

I am pleased that you are preparing a History of the Irish Primitive Church. From the glance which I have taken of its contents, I believe it will be interesting, and highly serviceable to the cause of Christianity. M. SIMPSON.

From the late Charles Elliott.

A volume which would give us, from authentic sources, a view of the planting of Christianity in Ireland, as well as the phases through which that Church has passed, is a desideratum, and I think would be highly appreciated by the American public; and of the author's ability and fidelity for such a work I have no doubt. CHARLES ELLIOTT.

I have read the Introduction of the History of the Irish Primitive Church, and am pleased with the matter, the style, and the typographical execution. JOSEPH LONGKING.

HISTORY

OF THE

IRISH PRIMITIVE CHURCH,

TOGETHER WITH

THE LIFE OF ST. PATRICK,

AND HIS CONFESSION IN LATIN, WITH A PARALLEL TRANSLATION.

BY

DANIEL DE VINNÉ.

NEW-YORK:

FRANCIS HART AND COMPANY.

ON SALE BY

CARLTON & LANAHAN, 805 BROADWAY; N. TIBBALS & CO., 37 PARK ROW.

1870.

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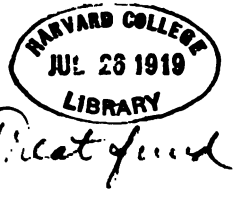

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There had ever been among the ancients a vague and shadowy notion that, in the Western Ocean, there was an island where the people were holy, where the rites of religion were duly observed, and where the fields were always green. No one can tell who originated this notion, but it spread widely, and has floated down to our own times. It is referred to in the legend of the island of Atlantis, as well as in that of the Isle of Calypso, the Hesperides, the Fortunate Isles, the Elysium of Homer, and the Heaven of the Indians, "some happier island in the watery waste." Some enthusiastic Hibernians think this island was their own green Erin.

Mr. Moore, says, "This island is alluded to by several Greek writers, and the position assigned to it, in every instance, answers perfectly to that of Ireland."[1]

[1] *History of Ireland*, p. 28. American edition.

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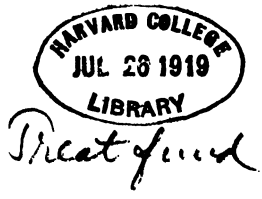

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[1] *History of Ireland*, p. 28. American edition.

The Romans loved conquests, even when they were unprofitable; in their flight across Europe, their eagles reached the sterile Orknies, but, what is remarkable, they never reached the shores of Ireland. No nation of a superior civilization, as in Britain and in Gaul, ever settled on that island. The vices and the virtues of the natives are, therefore, wholly their own.

The religion of the ancient Irish was Druidism,[1] which, most probably, had been imported from the plains of Shinar. As a system, it permeated everything; it made their laws, formed their priesthood, moulded the minds of the people, and in its ramifications was felt from the thatched cabin to the throne. But at the commencement of our era it was on the wane; it had run its course, and, like the present Mohammedanism, it had in itself no germ of regeneration. Under its long and iron sway the nation had become poor, ignorant, and depressed, alike by the Druidic priests and the Pagan princes. And as they had no hope, they had no energy. In this state they seem to have remained for centuries, apparently satisfied with the sheer necessities of a quiet, easy life; occasionally, however, yearning for the return of the halcyon days, in which they fancied their fathers had enjoyed the consummation of all good.

The government of Ireland, for a long time, had been of the worst kind: a cluster of petty princes, independent of

[1] The word *Druid* is not derived from δρυς, the oak, as is generally supposed; but, according to Mr. Toland, an eminent Celtic scholar, it is from the Irish word *draiod* (learned) a learned man. It was so understood by the translators of the Irish Scriptures (see Matt. ii, 1): thus, in Roman letters, *Draioch o naird shoir go Hiarusalem*—"The Druids came from the East to Jerusalem." And in Exodus, vii, 11: *Draioch na Hegipt*—"The Druids of Egypt." Some words in this ancient language are very expressive. What we render "reconciliation" in the New Testament, in the Irish is "second friendship."—*Moore's History of Ireland*, p. 89, American edition.

each other, and almost independent of the nominal king of the whole nation, governed the entire country. They were generally proud, rapacious and vindictive; their internal feuds and jealousies kept the country in a continual strife. They were unworthy of the generous, simple-hearted people over whom long established usages had placed them. There was another great evil. In the cultivation of the soil they had only a tribal right, and on the accession of every new Tanists, there was a strange and unjust division of the land. Their system of taxation, which required payment in cattle, grain, cloth, and other articles, was equally unjust and oppressive.

The language of the ancient Irish was the old Celtic, which for centuries had been the vernacular of all south-western Europe. The purest remains of that ancient language is still spoken in Ireland.[1] Their annals and their Brehon laws

[1] It is worthy of notice that while the towns and villages in England are almost entirely of Anglo-Saxon derivation, the hills, forests, rivers, and other large and prominent objects of nature, still retain their original Celtic or Irish names. [*Craik's Pictorial History of England*, vol. I, p. 7., Am. ed.] There are many curious items in regard to the Irish language. Plautus lived about 250 years before the Christian era, and wrote several plays in Latin, the *personæ* and matter for which he obtained from Punic records, which are now lost. In one of these plays there are twenty-five lines in an unknown tongue, which Plautus represents as having been uttered by a Carthagenian, several centuries before his time, who had come to redeem his daughter from the Romans. This is one of these lines, from *Col. Vallancy's Collectanæ*, vol. II, p. 306

PUNIC—Byth lym! Mo thym nocto thü nel ech anti daise machon.

IRISH—Beith liom! Mothime noctaithe niel acanti daisic mac coine.

ENGLISH—Be with me: I have no other intention but to recover my daughter.

These lines had long defied the linguists, till, at the commencement of the present century, Neachtan, an obscure Irish scholar, discovered that they were resolvable into modern Irish. Dr. Percy, Protestant Bishop of Dromore, Ireland, sent these mysterious lines of Plautus to

were written in it, and they loved it intensely because it was their own. Through all their vicissitudes, the Irish were a people of poetry and song, gay and light-hearted. From time immemorial, their harp had soothed their sorrows, cheered their associations, and had inspired their soldiers in battle. But their history, remotely and at present, is wholly anomalous. It defies all attempts at generalization. "The sole solution," says Mr. Moore, "of this, and other contradictions in Irish history, is this, that for a long time [previous to Christianity] civilization had been retrograding; that whether from the inroads of rude northern tribes, or the slowly demoralizing influences of their own political institutions, they had fallen, like other once civilized nations, into an eclipse."

With true Celtic perseverance they were still clinging to their old laws and usages—their assemblies of Tara, their colleges of bards, the great psalter of their antiquarians. While still preserving the ancient fabric, only a little more than the shell remained. Amid all the skeletons of a bygone civilization, they were sinking fast into barbarism."[1]

Here, then, was an original people, the oldest nationality of south-western Europe, dissatisfied with their religion, oppressed by their rulers, and fast tending to greater suffering and ignorance. In this state of depression they were ready for almost any change; especially for the reception of that faith which was so congenial with the best impulses of their fervid nature. The introduction of Christianity in Ireland formed a new era in that country. It brought a nation into notice,

several of the best Irish scholars in different parts of the kingdom, who were unknown to each other, and wholly ignorant in regard to the object for which they had been sent. The Bishop asked if they were able, from their knowledge of Irish, to give him a translation into English. They did so, and their versions were substantially alike; and what is equally remarkable, they were found in the main to be suitable answers to the interrogatories of Plautus.

[1] *History of Ireland*, American edition, p. 108.

and into communication with the rest of Europe, from which for ages it had been isolated. And the new religion was presented to them in the most appropriate and affectionate manner. The great Apostle of Ireland was an experienced Christian, not only of deep and uniform piety, but he was naturally a man of large, liberal, and benevolent heart. He commenced his mission to the Irish in a barn, and presented God to them as He had never been presented before.

The sudden rise and permanent establishment of Christianity in Ireland is one of the remarkable events of the fifth century. History scarcely furnishes a parallel of a people, proverbially attached to the customs of their fathers, who, in less than one century, abandoned a system under which they had lived from time immemorial, and who so cordially embraced another of which, till then, they knew so little.

When Christianity arose in Ireland, Druidism, its former religion, was an effete system: its moral power was gone; the people had lost confidence in it. And although the Irish seem naturally disposed to be religious, yet Druidism had never elicited the strength of their affection. It was a cold, crude, and unsocial system. There was nothing attractive in it; it was too ideal for them, or for any other unlettered people. There was less of the objective or visible in it than any other form of heathenism. The leading object of its adoration was the sun and the celestial bodies, as symbolized by fire in some of its modifications. Such objects of worship were too ethereal and evanescent to be comprehended. or to be venerated, by the masses of any country. Druidism also lacked all that excited the passions; there was no poetry in it; it wanted the graces of statuary, and the seductive associations of the elegant and refined mythology of Greece and Rome.

Christianity, on the contrary, was congenial with the best impulses of the Irish heart. The love and condescension of

God, as set forth in the new religion, was that which touched the sympathies of their natures. It represented God to them as He never had been before. Instead of that distant and ideal being shadowed forth under the mysterious and repulsive symbol of fire, God was brought nigh to them, and was declared to be the Lord God, merciful and gracious, abundant in goodness and truth. But it seems to have been chiefly the doctrine of the Incarnation, the Son of God assuming our nature, dwelling among us, and being touched with all the feelings of our infirmities, which so perfectly carried away the Pagan Irish in their love and admiration of Christianity.

At that period, their bad form of government was even favorable to the propagation of new ideas. A cluster of petty kings, independent and generally hostile to each other, could never act in concert for any purpose, good or bad; consequently, if the missionary was resisted in one jurisdiction, perhaps on that very account he would be the more readily received in another. In this way nearly all opposition was neutralized, and an almost uninterrupted access was opened to the masses. Further, some bards openly embraced the new faith, and inhaled from it a new and a higher inspiration than they ever had before felt or fancied. This order, in Ireland, had always swayed the multitude by their songs and poetry. The few who embraced Christianity became equally active and successful, in the use of these gifts, to win souls to Christ. Many of them immediately changed the themes of their compositions, and in some instances altered those which had been written in praise of imaginary beings, so as to make them suitable for the praise of the One only and true God. Dubtach, one of them, is particularly named, who was an early disciple of St. Patrick, and who, from his conversion, through a long life, devoted his muse and other great influences to the propagation of Christianity.

AUTHORITIES IN RELATION TO ST. PATRICK.

BEFORE presenting the Life of Saint Patrick. or a History of the Introduction of Christianity in Ireland, it may be satisfactory to the reader to know something of the authorities upon which they rest. This seems the more necessary, as there is generally a very great lack of information in regard to the history of the Irish Primitive Church. Many, who are well read in other matters, acknowledge themselves especially deficient in this.

Nearly all that we know of St. Patrick is derived from his own writings. He left only two well authenticated compositions—his "Confession," and his "Epistle to Coroticus." Others have been attributed to him, but they are spurious. His mediæval biographies are unreliable. His Confession, in some respects, is an autobiography, for it narrates his birth, captivity, conversion, and his call to Ireland. These contain nearly all that we know about him.

The genuineness of his Confession is undoubted by all competent judges; and its authority in regard to himself outweighs that of all others.[1] It is very remarkable, and worthy of special notice, that while the Roman Catholic writers of the mediæval and the present centuries are continually

[1] The *London Quarterly*, for April, 1866, says, "There is nearly a unanimous agreement in regard to St. Patrick's Confession. Its genuineness is admitted by Bishop Ussher, Sir James Ware, Spellman, Tillemont, Mabillon, D'Achy, Du Cange, Dupin, Lanigan, and a long list of others, both Catholic and Protestant."

presenting St. Patrick as a good Papal Catholic, they never quote one syllable from his own writings. They eagerly publish what his Popish mediæval biographers say of him, but in no instance have they, nor do they, publish what he has said of himself—for a very sufficient reason: there is no Romanism in his writings.

That the reader of these pages may have the whole truth in the premises, I have transcribed the entire "Confession of St. Patrick," in his own original Latin, from volume LIII (pages 801–3) of the *Patrologia*, edited by Abbé Migne, Paris, 1847, a copy of which is in the Astor Library.[1] Abbé Migne is a Roman Catholic and a Jesuit; but his collection of the writings of the fathers, from the second to the sixth century, in their own words, is universally allowed to be correct. I have given, in parallel columns with the original text, a translation, accredited by Professor Silber, of the New-York Free Academy. No one can have an adequate idea of St. Patrick, or of the Church which he founded, without reading this Confession. It is remarkable that it has never been published before in this country in English, and that it is so little known.

There is, however, an early notice of St. Patrick in the Lorica, a hymn said to have been written by Sechnal, who was for a while cotemporary with him. A few scraps of this hymn are found in other authors, but they contain nothing that is not in the Saint's Confession. About eighty years afterward, Fiech, or Fiacc, is said to have written about him in the Irish language, a few sentences of which have come down to us; but, like the other, they contain nothing new or different from the Confession. Nor is there in them the least allusion of his visit to Rome, or of a commission from the Pope, or any of the Romish sayings or doings which were attributed to him five hundred years afterward.

[1] See the appendix.

In A. D. 950, Probus wrote a life of St. Patrick, but, as in the previous ones, there is nothing very special in it. In A.D. 1080, Joseline wrote a life of the saint, which, ever since, has been the "store-house" from which all subsequent Roman Catholic writers have drawn their materials. He, and those who followed him in the twelfth century, lived in an age of romance and fiction, and their extreme amplifications and embellishments render nearly all that they say extremely doubtful, although there may be a vein of truth running through their narratives. Their great fault was, that in supplying the defects of scanty materials, they absurdly viewed everything concerning the infant Irish Church of the fifth century through the medium of their own, five hundred years afterward, so that we are only left to judge between the probable and improbable. Dr. Lanigan, the Roman Catholic historian, thinks their main statements may be true, although there are many fables mixed up with them. But, as a history of his life and labors, it is not trustworthy.

There is still another authority, the "Book of Armagh." This is a manuscript written in the middle of the eighth century, and which only recently has come into general notice. It is a catalogue of the lives of ancient Irish Saints, by one Muirchu, with annotations by Tirechan, both Irish writers of the eighth century. This manuscript was known and acknowledged by Archbishop Ussher, two hundred and fifty years ago, but after his time it became little known, and some of its leaves have been lost. Its genuineness is now admitted by both Catholics and Protestants. Dr. Moran, Rector of the Irish College, in Rome, readily admits its authenticity; but as there is no Romanism in it, he rather intimates that Protestants may have destroyed those leaves in which there might have been. All of which, however, is wholly gratuitous. There is not a shadow of evidence for this supposition.

In Ussher's day, this manuscript was complete, but it was not in his keeping, nor in that of the See of Armagh. In 1680, through the bankruptcy of its owner, it was pledged for debt. For a long time it was lost sight of. In 1707, it was handed about and read as a curiosity. It came into the custody of the Brownlow family in 1853. Dr. Reeves purchased it for three hundred pounds, and finally the Archbishop of Armagh re-purchased it; and it is now safely lodged in Trinity College Library, in Dublin. It is soon to be printed. Extracts will be given from it.

THE IRISH PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

I

ST. PATRICK.

St. Patrick's Birth...Captivity...Conversion...Call to Ireland.

THERE has been some difference of opinion in regard to the birth and country of St. Patrick. His first biographers, in the tenth and twelfth centuries, might probably have given us fuller information, but unhappily they were more intent on searching for miracles, than on the discovery or transmission of truth. St. Patrick himself has given us nearly all that is reliable concerning his birth, age, and country. In his Confession, or rather his autobiography, he says, "I had Calphurnius, a deacon, for my father, who was the son of Potitus,[1] heretofore a presbyter, who lived in the village of Banavem, in Tabernia; for he had a little farm there, where I was captured. I was sixteen years old, but I knew not God, and was led away into captivity by the Irish."[2]

But where was this little village of Vico Banavem Taberniæ, in which, he says, his ancestors lived?

[1] Several copies, according to the Ballandists and Migne (see *Patrologia*, vol. LIII, p. 810), add "the son of Odissus," and instead of Potitus they write Photius. It is remarkable, that in the early history of St. Patrick, nearly all the names are of Greek, rather than Latin origin. Was this accidental? or was the Irish Church founded by Greeks?

[2] See his *Confession*, § 1, and *Migne's Patrologia*, as above.

Dr. Lanigan thinks he has shown that the place called Banavem, or *Banaven Tabernæ*, was in Armoric Gaul, being near the present town of Boulogne, or, as it had been called in Latin, Bononia, afterwards gallicised to Boulogne.[1]

Mosheim seems to think that St. Patrick was a native of Scotland, although, contrary to his general practice, he gives no satisfactory authority; and thousands, on his declaration, without examination, have acquiesced in it But he cannot be correct, for, according to St. Patrick's account of himself, he was born and educated in a Christian country, where Christianity had been established: his father was a deacon, and his grandfather had been a presbyter in the Church. But at the time of St. Patrick's birth, about A. D. 387, it is not probable that there was even a form of Christianity in Scotland, or North Britain, as it was then called. It had existed before this among the Picts, but during their various wars it had been driven out. The venerable Bede, as late as the sixth century, calls the Picts "apostates." It was nearly a century after his birth before Christianity was established in that country, so as to have churches and a settled ministry. Besides, in his Confession, St. Patrick speaks of returning to his parents, in Brittany, and of his desire to see his "Gallacian Brethren."[2]

St. Patrick says he was captured when about sixteen years of age, which would bring the time to A. D. 403, a period which, according to the ancient Irish annals,[3] synchronizes remarkably with the time in which the Irish are

[1] *Moore's History of Ireland*, p. 113, American edition. *Ussher's Works*, vol. IV, p. 270.

[2] *Confession*, § 6. in the appendix.

[3] In regard to the credibility of these annals, Sir James Mackintosh thus writes: "The Chronicles of Ireland, written in the Irish language, have been recently published, with the fullest evidence of their genuineness and correctness. The Irish nation, though robbed of many of their legends by this authentic publication, are yet by it

said to have made the most of their raids on the coast of Gaul, particularly those of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who carried away many captives and sold them in Ireland. From these, and other proofs that might be adduced, we therefore believe with Ussher, Moore, and nearly all the writers of the present day, that St. Patrick was born in Armoric Gaul, about A. D. 387.

From a passage in his Epistle to Coroticus,[1] it appears that his father was of Roman origin, and had held the office of Decurio, or municipal Senator, and that his mother, whose name was Conchessa, was a native of a province in Gaul. It is therefore more than probable that, in one of those inroads, young Patrick had been captured and brought into Ireland. Uncontradicted tradition has it, that he was bought by Milcho, who lived in that part of Dalriada now included in the County of Antrim, and near a mountain that was called Slievemis. The occupation to which he was assigned, and which seems to have been one common to those of his condition, was the herding of sheep or cattle. And on this lonely mountain, and in this tranquil employment, separated from all that he had ever loved or known before, he spent the entire period of his captivity.[2]

It was here, while silently moving around these hills, and

enabled to boast that they possess genuine history several centuries more ancient than any other European nation possesses in their present spoken language."—*History of England*, vol. I, ch. 2.

In these annals there is something very remarkable. Nearly one thousand years before the present improved knowledge of astronomy, it was recorded in them, that there had been eclipses in the fifth and sixth centuries in Ireland, giving, as they do, the year, month and day on which they took place. Now, modern astronomers, reckoning backward, have found that these eclipses did occur just as they had been recorded. And further, that these records were made centuries before any one could have accommodated the records to suit the calculation. See a recent French work, "*L'Art de Verifier les Dates.*"

[1] *Patrologia*, vol. LIII, p. 804. [2] *Confession*, § 6.

passing along these mountainous peaks, watching his flocks on their slopes and in their glens, that he was first seriously drawn to think of God. Being thus exiled from home and country, he began to call upon God: as, no doubt, his godly father and mother had been long calling, for a son of whom they could know nothing, and of whose life and condition they could only imagine that which must have been harrowing to their inmost souls. But God, who had appeared to the one in Horeb, to Moses on a mountain, and in a similar employment, now revealed himself to young Patrick. And in answer to prayer, the Lord was pleased to visit him, to convert his soul, and, as he often afterward said, to alleviate even his burdens in the house of his bondage.

His conversion and employment are thus beautifully set forth in his Confession: "My constant business," says St. Patrick, "was to feed the flocks. I was frequent in prayers. The love and fear of God more and more inflamed my heart. My faith and spirit were augmented, so that I said a hundred prayers a day, and almost as many by night. I rose before day to my prayers, in the snow, and in the frost, and in the rain, and I received no damage. Nor was I affected with slothfulness, for the spirit of the Lord was warm in me."[1] This account of his conversion is at once scriptural and rational. "His heart was warm in the love of God;" he was filled with the spirit of prayer; he was happy in the house of his bondage. Here are no allusions to saints, to angelic agencies, or any of the Romish superstitions of a later period: the whole is set forth in such terms as are at once in perfect agreement with the Scriptures, with similar narratives in apostolical times, and with the experience of protestant Christianity at this day.

At the close of the sixth year he obtained his liberty. Some have intimated that he ran away from his master, but

[1] *Confession*, § 6. Ware's translation. See the appendix.

Sir James Ware, in his "Irish Antiquities," says that there was a law among the ancient Irish, like that of the Hebrews, by which one in servitude went out at the end of the sixth year.[1] A little before his release he dreamed that he was about to return to his parents, and that on the sea-coast he would find a vessel to take him to them.[2] Soon after this he set out for home, and on the sea-board he readily found the vessel; but, on an application for a passage, he was roughly refused. In retiring from them he began to pray; and before he had gone far, one of them ran after him and offered him a passage. On the third day of their voyage they reached land,[3] but he does not tell what land; and immediately adds, that "they entered the desert, which required twenty-eight days for its passage." The only supposition that will harmonize with his account is, that they must have landed on some part of North Britain opposite to Ireland, on which they crossed over the island to the German ocean; or rather, that they may have coasted down to Wales, or to the British Channel, and then crossed the island to the east. In this journey the provisions of the company failed, and the captain appealed to St. Patrick, as a Christian, that if his God was omnipotent, why he had not prayed to him for food? Young Patrick did so; and on that day they came across a herd of swine, and the next day they found some wild honey.[4]

[1] *More Hebræorum*, after the manner of the Hebrews.—*Irish Antiquities*, vol. III.

[2] *Confession*, § 7. Appendix.

[3] In regard to St. Patrick's return to Brittany in Gaul, we have no other reliable account than that in his "Confession," which seems to have been intended, not as a consecutive narrative, but rather as a grateful acknowledgment of God's providences in his many deliverances. Hence, as a narrative, it is wholly defective in regard to dates and places, the absence of which renders the whole very obscure.

[4] *Confession*, § 7. Appendix.

About this time St. Patrick was again seized as a captive, but whether it was after or before he had reached the sea-coast, cannot be ascertained. His bondage, however, continued only two months, for he says, "The Lord delivered him out of their hands."[1] Finally he reached his parents in Brittany, who most affectionately received him, and entreated him never again to leave them.

Here there is a long and undefined hiatus in his life, which his biographers of the tenth and twelfth centuries have generally filled up according to the liveliness of their fancies, or the supposed credulity of their readers. It is possible that, in their day, they might have had some traditionary or other sources of information, which has not come down to us. But they were so excessive in amplification and in embellishment, that most of their statements are questionable. Another and more serious fault was, that in supplying what they thought must have taken place, they most absurdly viewed everything in regard to St. Patrick's movements in the fifth century, through the medium of their own in the tenth and twelfth. It should here be remarked, that this anachronism has ever been, all through the history of the Irish primitive Church, one of the most fruitful sources of error and confusion.

After his return home, his mediæval biographers say that he remained some time with his parents in their sequestered home, and that afterward he went to a monastery or school near Tours, in Gaul, where he applied himself assiduously,

[1] Dr. Lanigan has doubts in regard to this second captivity. He, and nearly all others, believe that the leaves of the original manuscript have been badly transposed, so as to confuse the connection. He thinks, instead of another seizure, that he was forcibly detained sixty days by those who had given him a passage from Ireland, and that the three-day sail was from Bantry Bay to the Armoric coast in Brittany, and that the desert spoken of, was from the coast, up through Brittany, to his home.

that he might recover what he had lost by his captivity. Here, they say, he was initiated into the ministry, and that he placed himself under the tuition of St. Germain, a civilian and theologian in Auxerre, in Burgundy, who taught the sciences of law and divinity, which, at that period, were the only studies of the schools.

In regard to these alleged movements of St. Patrick, we will simply say that they are possible, but that they stand without any proof.

1. In his Confession, he makes not the least allusion to them, although he frequently records many smaller matters.

2. Fiech, some time a cotemporary of the saint, in a hymn of thirty-four stanzas, in the Irish language, makes no mention of these occurrences.

3. The first mention concerning them was by Probus, a writer of fiction, living in the darkest period of the dark ages, five hundred years after the decease of St. Patrick.[1]

4. The hypothesis as to St. Patrick's education in Tours and other monasteries, as also to his tuition under St. Germain, does not well agree with facts or his own declarations; for he uniformly styles himself, *Indoctus*, an unlearned man, and deeply laments his want of erudition and of general reading, all of which seems apparent from his Latinity, the

[1] Sir James Ware, in his *Irish Antiquities*, justly observes, that "The purest streams flow always nearest the fountain." This was true in reference to St. Patrick. Allusions to him by early writers are very few, very brief, and wholly void of all extravagance. Five hundred years after his decease, allusions became facts, and new and unheard of events, and even miracles, were attributed to him. Thus, Probus, a writer of the tenth century, outdid all who had been before him; but he, himself, was vastly outdone by Joseline, a monk of the twelfth century. The fiction and extravagance of the latter, in the dark ages was received as history, and has since furnished the materials for most of the subsequent lives of St. Patrick by the Roman Catholics.

simplicity of his style, and the inartistic arrangement of his ideas.

Some time during this long interval to which we have alluded, St. Patrick had a dream, which he ever afterward considered as a special call to Ireland. "I saw in my dream," he says, "a man coming to me from Ireland, whose name was Victoricus, with a great number of letters; that he gave me one of them to read, in the beginning of which was this word, Hiberniæcum [the Irish Call]. While I was reading this, I thought, at the same moment, I heard the voices of the inhabitants who lived near the woods of Foclut, near the eastern sea, crying with one voice, 'We entreat thee, holy youth, to come and walk among us.' I was greatly affected in my heart, and could read no further. Then I awoke."[1] Such special communications by dreams are frequently recorded in the New Testament. St. Paul was in this way called to Macedonia, and similar instances have occurred in the primitive and in the modern Churches.[2] We cannot tell when the above took place, for here seems to be another chasm in the life of the Irish Apostle.

His mediæval biographers, however, fill it up by asserting that he went to Rome, where he was ordained by the Pope, and commissioned by him to evangelize Ireland. Mr. Moore, in his history, having more regard for his credit as an historian, does not mention his visit, but simply states, and that without any proof, that about this time St. Patrick accom-

[1] See his own words, in the appendix. *Confession*, § 10.

[2] Dreams are not always composed of vagaries. They are sometimes very significant. 1. When they are specific and consecutive. 2. When they leave a deep and abiding impression in regard to some particular duty. 3. When they are accompanied by some providential occurrences, which open the way to the performance of such duties. All these are exemplified in the case of Peter and Cornelius.—Acts x, i-x. So that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word, or divine call, may be established.

panied St. Germain, his preceptor, to Britain, to put down the Pelagian heresy.[1] This is the theory of the Roman Catholics and Protestant secessionists, but the whole is conjectural, having no documentary evidence to sustain it. It was first put forth by the monks of the tenth century. The omission of any early account of St. Patrick's ordination was so keenly

[1] This missionary to Ireland was no doubt ordained, but of what order is not known, whether presbyterial or episcopal; for, in the Primitive Irish Church, there were bishops of single churches, and perhaps of provinces. The ordination of bishops *in partibus infidelium*, or to the heathens, was the work of a much later period. It is now generally acknowledged that, previous to the rivalry of Protestantism, when Rome had everything in her own way, without the fear of the criticism of the pulpit or the press, that there were many irregularities in her Episcopal ordinations, particularly in regard to distant and obscure churches. Many of the churches in north-western Europe were founded by deacons, presbyters, and even by laymen. This was some times acknowledged. When Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, came to take possession of the churches in North Britain, many of which had been founded, and all of which had been long in the possession of Irish pastors from Iona, he required that they should be re-consecrated, and their pastors should be re-ordained. (*Bede*, book IV, chap. 2.) By which he showed that he did not acknowledge the legitimacy of the Irish pastors from either Iona or Ireland. *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 264, says "a Catholic Council in Strath Clyde decreed that Scottish or British priests should be re-ordained, and that their churches should be sprinkled with exorcised water." And again, *Bede*, lib. III, p. 28, says: "There was not a bishop in North Britain that was canonically ordained except Wiro." Bede makes no mention of St. Patrick's mission in Ireland; indeed, all the Romanist writers of that day show a manifest disapprobation of the Irish Church. But the ordination of St. Patrick, of whatever kind it was, was not through Rome; for, as seen above, Rome would not acknowledge it. According to his early biographers, his ordination was through St. Germanus; and if so, it was through a line of Gallican bishops to Irenæus of Lyons, and thence to Pothinus, to Polycarp, the beloved companion of the beloved disciple John. And thus it was Asiatic, and not European, in its ascent.

felt by these biographers, that they were obliged to invent his visit to Rome for episcopal ordination, as they did also that of the marriage of his father and grandfather, by asserting, and that without a shadow of proof, that their marriage relations took place before their entering into the ministry. These assertions, and many others, were made in the dark ages, and remaining for centuries uncontradicted, were afterward received as historic truths. Even Archbishop Ussher acknowledges that at first he had been carried away with them, but that, on a thorough examination, he discovered that they were baseless, founded on interpolations.[1] The idea that St. Patrick had been ordained and commissioned by the Pope to evangelize Ireland, was never started until the ninth or tenth century, nearly five hundred years after his decease, and then it rested upon no documentary testimony whatever. Although he frequently speaks of coming to Ireland, in no instance does he even make an allusion to any such ordination or commission from the Pope.

While St. Patrick makes not the least allusion to an ordination or commission from the Pope, in several places throughout his Confession, he speaks of his commission as being directly from God, "to preach the Gospel in that country."

1. This divine call to evangelize Ireland is asserted in his Confession. In the fifteenth section he thus states it: "But I left my country, my parents, and the many rewards which had been offered me, and with tears and weeping I displeased them—some who were older than myself. But I did not act contrary to my vow. And so, God directing me, I consented to no one. I yielded to none of them, nor to what was grateful to myself. God had overcome and had

[1] One of these interpolators, not being well acquainted with geography, said that St. Patrick, on leaving Rome, sailed across the British channel.—*Illus. Men of Ireland*, vol. I, p. 189.

restored all other matters, so that I went to Ireland, to heathens, to preach the gospel to them."[1]

Now, whether St. Patrick had ever been episcopally ordained, or had ever been sent by any church or council, of which, however, there is no reliable account whatever, here is ample evidence of a direct and divine call, and the only one on which he invariably relied as his commission. He never, in any instance, spoke of other authority than this. When speaking in the defence of his episcopate, he said: "*From God I have received what I am* [à Deo accepi id quod sum]. Again he said: "God directing me, I agreed, or consented, to no one, that I should come to Ireland." These declarations do not look like going to Rome for a commission; but, on the contrary, as receiving one directly from God.

2. Again he says, "I never went to Ireland of my own free will, but was every day against it, until I was brought down. But this was rather good for me; for, from this time, by the help of God, I began to amend, and He prepared me that day for what I should be, which before had been far from me, to wit: that I should have a care and a great anxiety for the salvation of others. Then, after this, I did not think of myself."

In several places he alludes to his mental exercises in reference to this mission. "I prayed mightily with groaning; I hardly knew what that was praying in me. But something thus spoke, 'Who has laid down His life for my sake.' Then I remembered what the Apostle says, 'The spirit helpeth our infirmities.' "

3. Among other vows, he "promised the Lord that he would never leave Ireland." He never did.

4. In excommunicating Coroticus, a British chieftain, he never appeals to any pope or council. He appeals to his

[1] *Confession*, § 15. Appendix.

authority for so doing in the following words: "I, Patrick, an unlearned man, to wit, a bishop, constituted in Ireland," and that "What I am, I have received from God."[1] Then he goes on, solely on this authority, and excommunicates Coroticus, and calls upon all Christians neither to eat or drink with him, nor to receive his offerings, until he had repented and restored the captives. Now, had he ever received a commission from Rome, this would have been a very appropriate and effective occasion to have presented it, as this British chieftain would have regarded the authority of the Pope beyond that of a simple bishop in Ireland. But no such appeal was made, because no such relation at that time existed. Bishop Ussher asserts "that all the affairs of the Irish Church and her bishops were done at home."[2]

Again, and in addition to all the above, the "Book of Armagh," a manuscript of the seventh century, contains a catalogue of Irish saints, which, written three centuries before the mediæval biographers of St. Patrick existed, makes not the least allusion to any connection between the Irish Church and Rome. This manuscript records, in reference to the seventh century, the following: "The first order of Catholic saints was in the time of Patrick. They were all bishops; founders of churches; three hundred and fifty in number; renowned, holy, and filled with the Holy Ghost. They had one head, who was Christ, and one leader, who was Patrick."[3]

[1] Ego Patricus, indoctus, scilicet, Hibernione constitutum episcopum me esse reor: a Deo accepi id quod sum.—*Epis. ad. Coroticus, Patrologia*, vol. LIII, p. 804.

[2] Vol. IV, p. 325. See the *Preface*, p. 5. In this manuscript the prefix "Saint" is never used.

[3] Vol. IV, p. 325.—Primus ordo catholicorum sanctorum erat in tempore Patricii: Et erant episcopi omnes, clari et sancti, et spiritu sancto pleni, cccl. numero, ecclesiarum fundatores. Unum caput Christum, et unum ducem Patricum habebant.—*Ussher's Primord*, p. 913. *Illus. Men of Ireland*, vol. I, p. 67.

The plain truth is, the mission of St. Patrick to Ireland was an extraordinary one, and cannot be judged after the usual course of ecclesiastical affairs. There was very little human agency in it. He does not appear to have been sent by any bishop, pope, or ecclesiastical body. The Pope's plan for the evangelization of Ireland had been through Palladius, which signally failed; that of the Head of the Church was through St. Patrick, which was as signally successful. In regard to his call, he seems not to have conferred with flesh and blood, or to have committed himself to the guidance of any one.[1] Being satisfied that his call was from God, he chose a missionary company, among whom it is supposed were Aulilius and Isininus, and set sail for Ireland.

This account is true, and as full an account of St. Patrick, previous to his ministry in Ireland, as the evidence in the case will justify, the collecting and sifting of which has cost the writer months of labor: and in it we seek in vain for the Romanism which is generally attributed to him. He really lived before Romanism was fully founded, and appears to have known very little about it. His Christianity was first learned in the rural districts of Gaul, to which the vices and innovations of the cities on the continent had not yet come. The simplicity of his religious views are apparent through every page of his Confession. This Confession ought to be read; no one without such reading can understand the man.

[1] *Confession*, § 15.

II

ST. PATRICK'S MINISTRY IN IRELAND.

St. Patrick's Landing...First Sermon...Preaching in Tara...Conversion of Bards...Common People Receive him Gladly...Conversion of two Princesses...Valley of Slaughter...Journey to the North-West...Retreat to a Mountain...Preaches to vast Crowds...Persecutions...Epistle to Coroticus...Last Days...Character.

ST. PATRICK, in A. D. 432, when about forty-three years of age, commenced his mission in Ireland. A few Christians had been there before this period; but of their introduction, number, or place of residence, we know nothing. Tertullian, in his Defences (A. D. 209), asserts, "that the religion of Christ had penetrated the British Isles, where the Roman armies had never reached." Now, this declaration can only be true in reference to Ireland; for he, and all others at that time, knew that the Romans had not only "penetrated," but that they then possessed all that was called the British Isles, except Ireland, whose shores they never touched. And when Palladius, in A. D. 420, received his commission, it read, *Ad Scotos in Christo credentes*,[1] "to the Scots [Irish] who believe in Christ." These few believers, however, were wholly unorganized and scattered, so that St. Patrick may justly be called the Apostle of Ireland.

The place where he first landed was then called Inver Dea, supposed to have been the present port of Wicklow. Wherever he went, he found only the institutions and the practices of Druidism. At first, his efforts were apparently

[1] *Ussher Primord*, p. 913.

crowned with success; but afterward, the opposition which had driven away Palladius burst upon him and his company, and they were obliged to fly to their boats. They then visited a place called Rath Jubber, near the mouth of the river Bray, but with no better success. Then coasting northwardly, they landed on an island near the Bay of Dublin, which was afterward called *Phadruic Innis*, Patrick's Island. Here they remained for some time, to recruit themselves. From this island they went still farther north, to the Bay of Dundrum. On landing, the herdsmen mistook them for robbers, and a general alarm was given along the coast; upon which, Dicho, the chieftain, rallying his men, came out to meet them; but, on a near approach, they discovered their mistake, and immediately received them kindly.

After they had made themselves and the object of their visit known, Dicho consented to give them a hearing. The place provided for St. Patrick's first sermon to the pagan Irish was a barn, which long retained the name of *Sabhul Phadruic*, Patrick's barn; and was afterward regarded as a sacred place, and finally, one of superstitious veneration. There is here, again, at this most important period, another chasm in his life. It has been, however, filled by his biographers; but the most of their amplifications are not worthy a place in this sketch. An account of this part of his life was, perhaps, never noticed by himself; the Apostle of Ireland, like many missionaries of later times, was not sensible of the great work in which he was then engaged, and consequently left no detailed account of it.

Some time after this, St. Patrick was very desirous to visit his old master, and for that purpose he went still farther north, through the Valley of Arcuil, then called Dalriada. But on reaching his neighborhood, Milcho sent him word that he could not see him, for, on the death-bed of his father, he had pledged himself never to forsake the

religion of his ancestors. Then returning to the mouth of the river Boyne, he hastened, if possible, to be present at the great annual festival of Tara, at which the king, the chieftains, and a great multitude, generally assembled, to celebrate its solemnities. One of these solemnities was, that for a while all fires should remain extinguished until the lighting of the great fire at Tara.

From the glimpses we catch of these times, it appears that there was great toleration allowed by the pagan Irish in the propagation of new ideas or religious opinions, and that St. Patrick availed himself of this privilege to its fullest extent, and consequently preached at this and all other pagan festivals whenever he could.

Joseline, of the twelfth century, in his Life of the Saint, says that St. Patrick and his company, on reaching Tara, took lodgings a little way from the great palace, and that, as his custom was, he lit his lamp in commemoration of the Paschal eve.[1] This happened on the same evening that all the fires in the kingdom were to have been extinguished, until the great fire should be kindled on the hill of Tara. Messengers were immediately dispatched, summoning the offender before the king. On his arrival, St. Patrick begged for a hearing, which being granted, the courtiers arranged themselves to hear him. On his appearing, only Eric, the son of Dego, arose to salute him. This refusal to rise was considered by the ancient Irish as a mark of great disrespect, or at least of disapprobation. St. Patrick, however, explained to them the general nature of Christianity, which they heard without murmur, and perhaps with approbation: for the next day he was allowed to preach in the palace before the king, the bards, and the Druids. But on this

[1] Middleton, in his *Enquiry*, says that this was a custom in the East. If so, it may be regarded as another evidence that St. Patrick's Christianity was from the East, as this was not a practice of the West.

occasion, only another rose to welcome him, who was Dubtach, the arch-poet. Apart from his conversion, there was nothing remarkable in the immediate results of this meeting; but remotely, its results were highly important. It was a kind of pentecostal occasion; for there were present at this national festival many from almost every part of the island, who, on their return, could tell the wonderful things they had seen and heard in Tara.

To these two noted conversions, there was another, Fiech, the poet, who soon afterward became the Bishop of Sletty, and wrote a life of St. Patrick in verse, a few fragments of which yet remain. Dubtach, already mentioned, openly and heartily espoused the cause of Christianity, and through a long life steadfastly adhered to it. He is said to have altered many of the poems, which he had formerly written in praise of false deities, so as to make them suitable for the worship of the true God. In this, and in many other ways, arising from his position and influence among the people, he greatly assisted the first Christian teachers in the propagation of the new faith.

This was the first and perhaps the only opportunity that St. Patrick ever enjoyed of presenting the claims of the Gospel to the king, chieftains, and subordinate rulers of the Irish people. These classes, with but few exceptions, were, however, very slow and hesitating in their reception of Christianity. It was among the common people that he gained his great achievements; they appear to have received the word with all readiness, and to have rejoiced exceedingly in the glad tidings which he brought to them. There were, however, a few among the higher classes who as cordially embraced it; for although the leading men of the nation did not receive it, yet, through solicitation and the bestowment of presents, St. Patrick induced them to allow their sons and daughters to attend Christian worship. As in apostolical

times, there were a few "honorable women" in Ireland, who seem to have decided that "that must be the true religion, which recognized the domestic relations, and which inculcated the doctrines of peace, kindness, and mutual forbearance." St. Patrick mentions one of these, "A noble young Scotic lady, blessed and most beautiful, whom I baptized."[1] Joseline says that two daughters of the king were converted. I will place in the margin his own account of their conversion, as a chastened specimen of the style of one of St. Patrick's early biographers. Notwithstanding his embellishments, there may be a vein of substantial truth running through the whole of his story.[2]

St. Patrick seems to have lost no opportunity to preach to

[1] His *Confession*, § 18.

[2] "To Laogaire," says the above writer, "there were born two daughters, like two roses in a rose-bed; one of them was of a ruddy complexion, and was called Ethena; the other was fair, and was called Fethlima; and they had been educated by the magicians [Druids]. On a certain morning, the sun having just risen, they went forth to a clear fountain, on the banks of which they saw St. Patrick, with a group of holy men around him, clothed in white, with books in their hands, chanting their morning service. They were struck with wonder at his countenance and garb, and inquired of his birth and the place of his residence, taking him for an apparition.

"The saint, however, told them that he had more important information to offer them, and that it would have been fitter for them to have asked him question concerning God, than about his earthly residence. On which they desired that he would expatiate on the subject he had proposed. Accordingly, he preached to them a sermon, in which he explained the doctrines of the Christian faith, and urged them immediately to receive baptism and the eucharist. The two princesses at once embraced Christianity, and received baptism and the sacrament, and shortly afterward they both died. The Druidic teachers, taking advantage of this providence, assailed the saint as the cause of their death; but he bore their ferocity with such heavenly-mindedness, that they were overcome, and afterward embraced Christianity."—*Joseline's Life of St. Patrick.*

the people, wherever he could find them. In journeying from Tara to Connaught, he went out of his way, that he might address the multitudes who generally assembled in a place that was called the Valley of Slaughter, a haunt of cruelty and superstition, on the plains of Leitrim. On this otherwise beautiful plain, stood the grim idol, *Cean Groith*, the Head of the Sun, which was really no other than the Moloch of the West, and which was served and worshipped with nearly the same horrid rites that the one in the East had been, in the days of Ahaz and Manasseh.[1] This idol was said to have been a huge stone, capped with gold, around which, in astronomical positions, there stood twelve unhewn smaller stones. To this image the people had been accustomed to sacrifice the first-born of their cattle, and in great emergencies, the first-born of their children. On *Samhul*, the day of the great festival, after walking in procession around this idol, always in the course of the sun, many of them, both men and women, would prostrate themselves on the ground, and sometimes they would beat their foreheads and elbows upon it until the blood flowed from them. Some are said to have been so violent in this horrid worship, that they afterward died from its severity.

In this dreadful place, St. Patrick lifted up his voice for Christ, and for the first time declared, to the mute and terror-stricken thousands, the character of the true God; that he delighted not in sufferings, but that his tender mercies were over all the work of his hands. We have no details of this meeting, but we may judge from the results: for some years afterward this grim idol was removed, and in its stead a church was erected, in which the cries of the innocents were no longer heard, but which was filled with the songs of thanksgiving and praise.

From Leitrim, St. Patrick passed over the greater part of

[1] 2 Kings, xxiii, 10.

the north-west of Ireland. Wherever he went, the effects of the pentecostal meeting of Tara were both felt and seen. Through the information which had gone out from it, his way was prepared before him; his mission was generally understood, and thousands flocked to welcome him and to hear his joyful message. His journey is represented by his biographers as one continued ovation. No one dared to oppose him, for the uprising of the masses had been so general and so abiding, that all opposition seemed useless; at least, no concerted measures could be brought against him.

There is no consecutive account of his journeys, and we cannot tell how long he remained in the different parts of the island which he visited. While in the north, where he had been so lauded and honored, either from fatigue, or perhaps in imitation of his Saviour, he turned aside with his company, and went up on a mountain which was long afterwards called *Phadruic Cruach*, Patrick's mountain. Here he spent some time in rest and seclusion, as well as in fasting and prayer for God's blessing on himself and his mission.

This visit and the accompanying circumstances were afterward made the occasion of a world-wide fable. In this elevated and sequestered retreat, he and his companions made themselves booths, or temporary lodgings, and were every night visited by flocks of sea-fowl, that perched themselves in the trees around them. These harmless and rather interesting visitors were afterward transformed by the superstitious fancy of his monkish biographers of the eleventh century, into so many demons, who had come to disturb the missionaries in their devotions. This occurrence, although the connection or agreement is not very apparent, is supposed to have given rise to the fable of St. Patrick's expulsion of all the reptiles and venomous creatures from

Ireland. Dr. Lanigan, the Catholic historian, says that Joseline, in the eleventh century, in his Life of the Saint, was the first one that ever put forth the account of this miraculous expulsion. From his book this story was copied into his other biographies, and it was even inserted in some Romish breviaries; and from these, this silly fable has found its way throughout the world. Before Joseline's day, says Bishop Lanigan, this fable was not even alluded to in any of the Irish annals, or other writing of the nation.[1] The learned Colgan, in exposing the weakness of this story, alleges that in the most ancient documents of Irish history, there is not the least allusion to the existence of any venomous animals having ever been found in Ireland.[2]

Mr. Moore, in his Irish History, says a few reptiles, as a test, have been introduced into Ireland, and have lived in it as in other countries.

While St. Patrick was in the north, after an absence of more than twenty years, he visited his old home, the place of captivity; but we hear no more of Milcho, his old master. He saw again, but under very different circumstances, the mountain upon which he had fed flocks, where he had endured the frost and the rains, and where he had so often and so fervently prayed. He saw, too, the wild wood from which, in his dream, he had heard the cry, "Come, holy youth, and walk among us."

During one of his visits to the north, there was an immense concourse of people gathered, in consequence of the death of the provincial king, and for the purpose of electing one of his seven sons as his successor. Here was another favorable opportunity to preach; and, for several days successively, St. Patrick proclaimed to these vast multitudes the Word of Life. No verified details of this meeting have reached us, but all his biographers agree that

[1] *Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History*, vol. v, p. 108. [2] Ibid., p. 117.

it was a most extraordinary occasion for even these remarkable times. Thousands are said to have embraced Christianity, and great numbers of them were baptized. These conversions, however, which appear to have extended over nearly all the northern part of the island, were, most probably, a mere change of opinion, rather than that of the heart, being little more than a renunciation of Druidism and a public acknowledgment of the superiority of Christianity.

From this time, and nearly through the latter part of his subsequent history, the Apostle of Ireland, according to his biographers, seems to have enjoyed almost uninterrupted success. The Lord had given him such favor in the eyes of the common people, that they were ready, almost everywhere, to give him not only themselves, but equally willing to give him their goods and services to further the cause of Christ. Hence, they say that he passed extensively through the island, founding churches, establishing monasteries, and in various other ways diffusing the knowledge of salvation to the thousands who had so long sat in the valley and the shadow of death. But, as Dr. Lanigan justly observes, "When we read of churches established by St. Patrick, very many, however, of which were certainly of a later foundation, we are not to be understood such edifices as are so called in our day, but humble-built buildings, made of hurdles or wattled clay, and covered with thatch."[1]

We have, however, already apprised the reader that the biographers of St. Patrick in the middle ages were fond of the marvelous; and it is very probable that they may have suppressed several instances of opposition, so as to make the triumph of Christianity in Ireland appear the more wonderful, as a direct interposition of God. Their account of such a peaceful establishment of the new faith was so unusual,

[1] *Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History*, chap. v, note 74.

that Geraldus and others were led to doubt the genuineness of the Irish Church, because it had not been laid in blood. These favorable views, however, are not sustained by facts; there was opposition, although it was continually kept in check by the people. There still existed a secret and smothered enmity to Christianity, among the ruling classes and the higher order of the Druids, who saw, in the spread of the new religion and the consequent change in the national creed, the downfall of their power and the total loss of their bread. This enmity was shown on several occasions. St. Patrick sometimes obscurely and rather reluctantly alludes to it in his Confession; he speaks of his goods having been wrested from him, of having been fourteen days in fetters, and of having been several times in danger of his life.[1] There is one overt act of persecution thus related by his mediæval biographers: A chieftain, by the name of Failgee, anticipating, most probably, the changes which must take place in the affairs of the nation, laid a plan for the assassination of St. Patrick. He hired a man to waylay him in a sequestered place, and to kill him; but the assassin, in throwing the lance, struck Ordan, his companion, who was driving the carriage and sitting by his side. Again, in his defence against some unnamed accuser, he states that twelve times his life was in danger, and that he was always liable to death or bondage. His ministerial life, in other respects, was not on an unruffled sea. In his Confession, he frequently alludes to various accusations, which appear to have arisen from envy or spleen, but which he met so humbly and unostentatiously that, at this time, it is impossible to tell what they really were. It is remarkable that St. Patrick never, in one instance, mentions or alludes to the Pope, or to foreign churches, or to any ecclesiastical matters, out of his own adopted country. This silence

[1] *Confession*, § 15 and 22.

seems to be an evidence, among many others, of the entire isolation of the early Irish Church at that period.

During St. Patrick's ministry in Ireland, an occurrence took place, which, being well authenticated, throws some light upon the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the fifth century. Coroticus, a British chieftain, and nominally a Christian, made a descent on the west coast of Ireland, and carried off and sold to the Picts a number of converts whom St. Patrick had recently baptised. The saint immediately dispatched a messenger to him, requiring that he should instantly release these captives, and return them to their homes. The demand, however, being treated with contempt, St. Patrick, styling himself simply "a bishop established in Ireland," issued the following. "To all who fear God: These murderers and robbers are excommunicated and estranged from Christ. The faithful, therefore, will not eat nor drink with them, nor receive their offerings, till they have liberated these servants and hand-maids of Christ."[1] He further desired that his epistle might be read to the people, and to the soldiers of Coroticus, that they might return to the Lord. This Epistle and his Confession are fully attested by the best critics of the day, while there are several other compositions ascribed to him which are as fully rejected.

We have no connected account of the last days of St. Patrick that is sufficiently reliable for an insertion. But as he never left Ireland, we may reasonably suppose that he spent the latter part of his life in the general superintendence of the church which he had established.

Some years before his death, he wrote his Confession, which is properly an acknowledgment of the goodness of God, and of the many providential deliverances which he had experienced in his mission. He left this, he says, as his dying testimony to his spiritual children at home, and to

[1] Epist. ad Coroticum. *Migne's Patrologia*, vol. LIII, p. 802.

his "Gallacian brethren" on the continent. It is beautiful in its simplicity, and very unpretending in its style, breathing throughout the most humble and ardent piety. It is altogether characteristic of himself, as he is seen in his life and labors. Its authenticity is now acknowledged by nearly all scholars and antiquarians.

The last days of the Apostle of Ireland were spent between Armagh and Sabhul. The latter, which in Irish is said to mean *barn*, was situated near or on the site of the present Down Patrick, and was the spot on which he opened his mission to the Irish people. While on a visit to this place, he was taken ill with his last sickness. He wished to have reached Armagh, the centre of his missionary operations, and to die among his spiritual children; but he was compelled to remain. Thus Sabhul, or the vicinity of the barn, where he had commenced his mission, was now, after thirty-four years of unremitting and successful labor, the very place in which he so triumphantly closed it.

He died on the seventeenth of March, and, as near as can be ascertained, in the year A. D. 465, and in the seventy-eighth of his age. The anniversary of his death has ever been held as a festive day by the Irish, not only in their own green isle, but in every other part of the wide world to which the wars and the oppression in their own ill-governed country has driven them. The ancient Irish, like the primitive Asiatic Christians, celebrated the dying day of their saints rather than, as with us, the day of their birth. They esteemed that day far more honorable, and consequently more memorable, on which the Christian had finished his course, had won his crown, and was about to have an entrance ministered unto him into the everlasting kingdom of his Lord and Saviour.

St. Patrick lived in a very eventful period, when the old Roman government and civilization were breaking up, and

when the new governments of modern Europe were just beginning to consolidate themselves. He was the honored instrument of introducing Christianity to a people, who, more than any other in proportion to their number, have spread themselves over our globe, and who have always carried their religion with them, whether in its pure and primitive state, or unhappily in its latter and vitiated form.

St. Patrick would have been a saint in any age or country. His piety was deep and uniform, alike in all the great changes through which he passed, from the lowly condition of a servant to that of the most honored man of the nation. Like the great Jewish lawgiver, he was emphatically a man of great meekness. In the government of the Church, in his intercourse with men of the world, whether they were friends or were secret or open enemies, love and humility were always and everywhere predominant. He was dead to the world, to its wealth and honors. When gifts were given him, he generally returned them; and on several occasions, like the prophet Samuel, he appealed to the people, that if he had taken aught from them unknowingly or unnecessarily, that they would tell him, and he would return it fourfold.

His Confession also shows that he was a man of sore temptations, not only from the world, but directly from the enemy of all good. He was also the subject of gracious manifestations, which always appear to have humbled and strengthened him for further labor. He was a believer in special providences, and felt it his duty to avow them. As John Wesley says, "Those who observe and acknowledge special providences, will have them to observe and acknowledge," and St. Patrick appears to have had many. His communion with God was close and abiding.

His early biographers and eulogists did not fully understand him. Not being experienced themselves, they could

not comprehend the internal promptings which were the hidden springs to his action. Yet in his meekness he manifested an invincible courage, and an indomitable energy. He "preached the Gospel on the hills," before the kings and the Druids, at Tara; and when in the Valley of Slaughter, standing in sight of the bloody altars, he denounced the horrid sacrifices offered to these Molochs of the West. Nor were these sudden or fitful efforts; they were the untiring course of thirty-four years of his ministerial life. He was abundant in labors, in travels, in perils; and so wedded was he to the land and people of his adoption, that he never left them, but in their service nearly lost the use of his mother tongue.[1]

His policy seems to have been to address himself at first to the chieftains, and, although very few of them embraced the faith, yet this attention secured to him the favor of the clan, and from these head-men he obtained a good title for the land on which he built his churches and monasteries. Thus, by acquiring a portion of land to each school or monastery, St. Patrick immediately made his infant church self-supporting. Fursey, of the seventh century, says, "the monks of Ireland worked in silence and eat their own bread."[2] "Upon the whole," says Dr. Todd, "the biographers of St. Patrick, notwithstanding the mixture of much fable, have undoubtedly portrayed in his character the features of a great and judicious missionary. He seems to have made himself all things to all men, adopting the language of the Irish and conforming to their institutions, that he might the more readily gain the rude and barbarous tribes of Ireland. The fruits of his course were soon seen in the wonderful stream of zealous missionaries, the glory of the Irish Church, who went forth, in the sixth and seventh centuries, to evangelize the barbarians of Central Europe."[3]

[1] *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 319. [2] In *Ussher*, vol. IV.

[3] James Hawthorne Todd's recent *Life of St. Patrick*, vol. I, p. 514.

The Roman Catholics have proudly and exclusively claimed St. Patrick, and most Protestants have ignorantly or indifferently allowed their claim; thus giving, by this gratuity, an advantage to error which no subsequent argument of theirs can adequately recover. But St. Patrick was no Romanist. His purer form of Christianity did not originate in Rome: it was established in Ireland before Romanism had been matured. During his life and times we find nothing of the peculiarities of Popery in Ireland. There is not even an allusion to them. Where is there anything that he ever said, wrote, or practiced, which favors these peculiarities? Where did he ever sanction relics, pilgrimages, praying to saints, the veneration of the Virgin Mary, obedience to the Pope, or any rite or usage that pertained exclusively to Popery? St. Patrick and the early Irish never applied even the word "Saint" as a prefix to the Apostles, or even to the four Evangelists. And again, it is noteworthy, in this place, to observe, as Bishop Ussher states, "though there were saints in Ireland, who of them was ever canonized till St. Malachy was,"[1] in the eleventh century, or nearly six hundred years after St. Patrick? All these early Irish Christians were great readers of the Scriptures. St. Patrick, in his Confession, even in this very short composition, makes twenty-five quotations from the Scriptures—a practice that was almost wholly discontinued when the Irish Church became Romanized.

We may fearlessly assert that, in the days of St. Patrick, and for centuries afterward, the Irish Church was, at least, among the purest churches then in Christendom. The life and teaching of this great missionary of the fifth century ought to be better known. There is, to this day, among Protestants, learned and unlearned, laics and ecclesiastics, a most lamentable want of information respecting him. National

[1] *Ussher*, vol. IV, 320.

prejudice and English literature, the latter of which, for centuries, has slurred over every bright spot in Irish history, have contributed to ignore everything in relation to St. Patrick; a result in every respect injurious, and one that has greatly lessened the spread of scriptural Christianity. There are many historical truths in connection with the Irish Church which, had they been written out and properly presented centuries ago, might have saved thousands then, and their descendants since, from the Romish superstition in which they have been so long involved.

III

ORIGIN OF THE IRISH CHURCH.

An Offspring of the Greek Church...Abounded in Oriental Customs...A Greek Church Edifice in Ireland...Greek and Irish Fellowship...Greek Bishop in Ireland...Greek Scholars in Ireland the Cause of the Early and Remarkable Literature in that Country.

THE character of the Irish Church has been long and fiercely litigated, and the controversy is not yet settled. I will endeavor to present the truth in the premises, as I understand it. Its origin seems to have been altogether peculiar and providential. There was very little human agency in it. St. Patrick, its founder, as far as reliable history shows, does not appear to have been sent by either pope, bishop, or any ecclesiastical council.

A youth had been forced away from his native Gaul; in the land of his captivity he learned the Irish language; several years after his return home he had a dream—such a one as Paul had in reference to Macedonia; the impression it made was deep and lasting; it followed him by day and night until he went to Ireland. Now the inquiry is, what form of Christianity did St. Patrick bring with him and incorporate in the first Irish churches? It has been too readily admitted that it must have been Romanist, merely because Ireland was, geographically, in Latin Christendom; and, secondly, when the Irish Church became generally known on the continent, the Popes of Rome claimed it as belonging to them, as they claimed all other countries. But, after the failure of Palladius, where is the evidence, in all

history, that they ever made another attempt to introduce Christianity in Ireland? There really is none. The editors of The Illustrious Men of Ireland thus state the question: "Whether the conversion of the Irish was, or was not, the work of Rome, is a question for the discussion of which the materials are *not* very abundant or solid. The obstacles to such a conclusion are insurmountable. The whole is an assumption without a shadow of proof."[1] In the absence, then, of all other evidence to the contrary, I will endeavor to show that the Irish Primitive Church was of Greek origin.

1. The proof of this may not be demonstrative; it may not be in agreement with general belief; but the proposition is rather a new one, and a patient analysis and comprehensive comparison may develop its truth.

It is well known that the early Church of Ireland, in her doctrine and usages, was far more in harmony with the Greek than with the Latin or Roman Church. Her observance of Easter, the reception of the Three Chapters, the frontal in opposition to the coronal tonsure, her form of marriage, wailings at funerals, smiting the breast in prayer, quotations from the Greek rather than the Latin Scriptures, and many other usages, all bespeak a Greek origin.

Having, in the first chapter, we think, satisfactorily fixed the country of St. Patrick's birth, we will now endeavor to connect his religious training with the Greek Church, which, we believe, was the first form of Christianity in Armoric Gaul, his native country.

History assures us that Christianity was first introduced into the rural districts of Gaul by Greek Christians. "A few Asiatic teachers," says Park Godwin, "from the Church of Smyrna, headed by Pothinus, who had prayed with Polycarp, a beloved companion of the beloved disciple John,

[1] *Illust. Men of Ireland*, vol. I, p. 64.

were the earthly instruments of its advent into Gaul."[1] Irenæus, his successor in Lyons, who died A. D. 202, was also a Greek, wrote and preached in Greek; and, what is farther worthy of notice, as stoutly resisted the bishops of Rome on some of the very same points which the Irish Church resisted several centuries afterward. During the first centuries of our era, it is well known that the Greeks, and their immediate descendants, were the principal navigators and traders in Southern Europe; so much so, that the Mediterranean was often called "The Greek Lake." And, according to the same author, the language of the populace in Massilia, now Marseilles, and, perhaps, several trading places in Ancient Gaul, was Greek, and continued to be Greek for some time afterward. And, on the rise of Christianity, we may reasonably suppose that the new converts were as enterprising in religious matters as they had been in commercial affairs.

Mr. Godwin further asserts that the Greek missionaries, particularly those in the rural districts of Gaul, were at least eighty years in advance of the Latins, or those who came from Rome.[2]

[1] *Godwin's Ancient Gaul*, p. 130.

[2] *Ibidem.* From the death of Irenæus, in A. D. 202, to the birth of St. Patrick, there were about 176 years. Consequently, the immediate disciples of the former might have preached at least to the great-grandparents of the latter. And further, during this interval, it must be remembered that the continuous persecutions of the Emperor Diocletian took place, which is said to have particularly driven the Christians from the towns and cities to other countries and to the most sequestered places of the empire. And thus the Greek Christians might have easily passed from Lyons, or from several places on the Mediterranean, into Armoric Gaul, the country of the ancestors of St. Patrick. Again, it should not be forgotten that the celebrated Athanasius may have contributed to the introduction of the usages of the Greek Church in Ireland. Athanasius was the Bishop of the Greek Church in Alexandria. Constantine the Great, for political purposes, banished him, in A. D. 336, to Treves, then the capital of

Now, the inference is more than probable that these Greek pioneers, or rather those who had received Christianity from them, were the first preachers in Armoric Gaul, and that they had taught, at least, the great-grandparents of St. Patrick that form of Christianity which he afterward took to Ireland and incorporated into the Irish Primitive Church. And although these missionaries may have preached to the natives in rustic Latin, or more probably in Celtic, their own vernacular, yet they would have no doubt introduced among them the doctrines and the usages of the Greek Church, which they had received from the earlier Greeks. This view of the origin of the Irish Church is certainly plausible; it is in agreement with history, and it is really the only one which can satisfactorily account for the remarkable agreement between so many of the opinions and the customs of the Greeks and those of the Irish Primitive Church. If the above is true, which we fully believe, then both the French and the Irish Churches sprang from a Greek ancestry, and were both of them cradled in entire independence of Rome.

2. But one truth very seldom stands alone. It is asserted, in the early annals of Ireland, that shortly after the rise of Christianity in that country, Sedulius, and others of the

Belgic Gaul, where he remained more than one year and a half. Treves, at this time, was a great centre, and held commercial relations with the Armoric coast and other places. The long sojourn of Athanasius in Belgic Gaul was during the lifetime of the immediate parents of St. Patrick. Now, we cannot believe that so active and zealous a propagator of orthodoxy would have remained nearly two years in Treves without making vigorous efforts to spread Christianity. So that, if other Greek pioneers had not already reached Armoric Gaul, we may reasonably suppose that the teaching of Athanasius had. This may be thought far-fetched, but the supposition is far more plausible that than of a Latin introduction of Christianity into Ireland, of which there is no proof.

first converts, were so smitten with the teachings and the literature of the new religion that they set off at once to see it in its maturity; not, however, to Rome, but to Achaia, Athens, and other Greek cities.[1] And it has been supposed that, on their return, they may have been accompanied by Greek scholars, or a company of ordinary Greek Christians, to traffic or to teach the neophytes of Ireland more perfectly and more generally the ways of the Lord and the literature of the new reiigion. Such an enterprise would have been in perfect keeping with the emigrating and trafficking character of the Greeks of that day. And what is advanced here as a supposition seems to be verified by the well-attested fact that, remotely, there had been at least one Greek church in Ireland.

3. Archbishop Ussher, in his Sylloge, or Collection of Irish History, writes that, anciently in Trimm, in the County of Meath, there had been a Greek church, and that the ground on which it had stood was pointed out in his day [1638], and that the site even then retained the distinctive name of "The Greek Church."[2] The same fact is attested by Sir James Ware in his Irish Antiquities. "I confess, indeed," he says, "that there are small traces of ancient Grecians having been in this country. For in Trimm, County of Meath, there is a place called '*The Church of*

[1] Sedulius is the Latinized form of the Irish Shueil, a name exclusively belonging to Ireland, latterly written Shield or O'Sheil. Ussher says, vol. iv, that Sedulius resided long in the East; that he became very learned, wrote expositions on different portions of the Scriptures, and that his quotations from them were always from the Septuagint, and that he objected to many passages of Jerome's Latin Vulgate, and advised all who could to consult "*The Hebrew Verity.*"—*Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 241.

[2] Mirrarer vero ex Hiberniâ nostra hominem Græcum, prodiisse, nisi scirem in argo Medensi apud Trimmenses eadem sacram exitisse quæ ecclesiæ nomen ad hunc usque diem retinet.—*Ussher*, vol. IV.

the Grecians.'"[1] Now, these facts are suggestive, and furnish us with materials for several inferences. First, we cannot believe that, remotely, any deceiver could have persuaded the people of that day, living in Trimm, that there was a Greek church in their neighborhood, when they all knew there was none. Nor could any other deceiver, in a later period, make their descendants believe that there always had been among them a tradition of such a church, which had been handed down from generation to generation, and that they had always heard it, and the place on which it had stood had been pointed out to them, when their descendants well knew that they had never before heard of such a tradition, nor had the site of such a church ever been shown them. The idea of deception in this case seems about impossible. The evidence, therefore, that a Greek Church had once existed in Ireland rests upon the same foundation that the best-acknowledged facts do in history. Now, this church was built for somebody; it could not have been built for the native Irish; it most unquestionably was built for Greeks then in Ireland. These Greeks could not have been mere sojourners. They may have been traders with the natives, or they may have distributed themselves as teachers in the principal schools through the country, or, in some other way, they may have aided in the propagation of Christianity. Here, then, is a fixed fact that, in the first years of the Irish Church, there was a Greek church edifice in Ireland. Now, the existence of this edifice necessarily implies a congregation, numbers, and, at least, to some considerable extent, a permanency of residence of these Greeks.

4. There is another account, equally interesting and remarkable, recorded in the Literary History of France, which may lead us to believe that, to some considerable

[1] *Antiq.*, vol. II, p. 164.

extent, the Greek language was cultivated by the first Irish scholars, and that the rites of the Greeks were understood and sometimes practiced by them.

"In the Diocese of St. Gerard in Toul [France]," says the history "there had been a company or community of Greeks, as well as Irish, and that the church service, in which both these nations joined, was performed in the Greek language and according to the rites of the Greek Church."[1] From this brief and well-authenticated fact it would appear that there was a greater affinity between these Greek and Irish Christians, in France, than there was between the former and the French. This fellowship and the mutual knowledge of the language must have previously existed. Where, then, did the Irish scholars or ministers acquire their knowledge of this language—in the East or in Ireland? As there were Greeks enough in the latter country to have built a church, we may reasonably suppose that they learned it at home, rather than to have gone a thousand miles abroad for it.

5. But there is still another historical item in confirmation of our position. Archbishop Ussher, in his "Collection of Ancient Irish Records," states that when Fargil, or Virgilius, went from Ireland to Germany, "That he was accompanied by a Greek bishop by the name of Dobdan."[2] It is not in-

[1] Ils [the Greeks] y formerent des communautés entières avec Hibernois qui s'étoient melés avec eux, et y faisoirent l'office Divin in leur langue, a suivant leur rit particulier. L'establissement de ces communautés de Grec, est tout-a-fait remarquable.—*Hist. Litt. de la France,* tome IV.

[2] Pontificem secum habuit proprium Dobdan nomine græcum, qui ipsum secutus erat ex patria.—*Epis. Hib. Sylloge.*

There is something curious in this connection. Dr. Todd, a high Protestant churchman, in his recent Life of St. Patrick, Dublin, 1864, labors hard to prove that there always had been episcopacy in Ireland. In proof of which he says, that the abbots in all or most of the prin-

timated that the bishop was a traveler, or on a visit; nothing is said about it beyond that of an ordinary occurrence at that period.

6. And in conclusion, there is still another argument. No fact is better known, than that shortly after the death of St. Patrick, and during a part of the dark ages, there arose suddenly throughout Ireland a great number of scholars or literary men. Among them were Columba, the founder of Iona, whose institution was long demoninated the "Star of the West;" Cummian, who read over the Greek, Hebrew, and other foreign writings in reference to the cycles; Dungall, who was consulted by Charlemagne of France in regard to eclipses; Fargil, or Virgilius, who asserted the sphericity of the earth six hundred years before Copernicus or Galileo were born; and a long list of other scholars and divines, all of whom had received their education in Ireland.

Montalembert, in his recent publications, says, in "the middle ages, companies of Irish scholars and missionaries passed over to England and the continent, in which they established nearly one hundred schools."[2] The authors of the Literary History of France say, "the people [Irish] living near the ends of the earth have done more to preserve literature than all other parts of Europe." Another French

cipal abbeys of Ireland, were endowed with episcopal powers; and that this Dobdan must have been one of these abbotical bishops. Further, he says that Virgilius, or Fargil, during his two previous years in Germany, had concealed his rank as an elder; but when, in A. D. 780, he was chosen to the Bishopric of Saltzburgh, he returned to Ireland and brought Dobdan back with him, that he might consecrate him to the episcopacy. All this may be true, but the proof of it is rather meagre. The name Dobdan is not Greek. Dr. Todd, who understood the language, says it is from *dubh*, the Irish numeral for two, because he belonged to two countries, Ireland and some Greek colony.—*Todd's Life of St. Patrick, p.* 67.

[2] Monks of the West, Paris, 1867.—*Hist. Lit. de France,* tome IV.

author says, "at this time Irish scholars came over in shoals;" and another Frenchman, that the mere name "Hibernois" [Irishman] implied a recommendation for scholarship.

To suppose that such scholars, and such a general and remarkable growth of literature, should have thus suddenly arisen in the *unaided* and recently pagan soil of Ireland, is to suppose an event unparalleled in history. But, if the above reasoning is accepted as correct, there is nothing wonderful in facts that have appeared anomalous: Greek opinions and usages in Ireland are traced to their source, the sudden rise of literature during the sixth and seventh centuries is readily accounted for, and many difficulties in Irish history are the more easily explained. Any hypothesis of a Latin or Romish origination of this church involves everything in confusion. We have an early account of the entire failure of Palladius, who had been sent by the Pope; but we have no account of any other one sent from Rome who even attempted to establish Christianity in Ireland. The first trustworthy notice we have concerning the Roman and Irish Churches is near the middle of the seventh century, when the latter church had been established in Ireland for nearly two hundred years.

IV

INDEPENDENCE OF THE IRISH PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

The Irish Church prior to Romanism...Of Greek Origin...Had been Overlooked...The Irish Church Founded on the Holy Scriptures only...The Roman Church Founded on the Scriptures and Tradition, as explained by the Priesthood...The two Churches Differed in Doctrine, in Forms of Worship, and in Usages...Independence of Irish Church Shown from History...North Britain or Scotland...The Ecclesiastical Debate in Irish and Saxon...The Papal English possess North Britain...The Irish Clergy return to Ireland...Ancient British Church in full Agreement with the Ancient Irish Church...No Fellowship...The Armagh Manuscript...Celtic Tenacity.

In this chapter I purpose to show that the Irish Church, for a period of at least five hundred years after its commencement, was independent of the Bishops of Rome, and free from the peculiarities of Romanism. Like all other churches, however, it had many things in common with Rome: for all the early churches sprang from the same source. But what I intend to show is, that during the above period the Church of Ireland was self-governing, and was as free from the control of Rome as it was from the Churches of Alexandria or Constantinople.

I. *The Irish Church existed before the Papacy began.*

When Christianity arose in Ireland, the Roman Catholic[1] Church proper, or as it was afterward constituted, did not exist. The Church of Rome was then in a state of trans-

[1] The word Catholic signifies *the whole*, comprehending the entire body of Christians everywhere. Its distinctive application to the Church of Rome is a contradiction, for it implies that Rome and the whole world must be one and the same place. The words Papal,

ition. Primitive Christianity had been degenerating. It was as late as the seventh century before the floating errors in Western Christendom had embodied themselves, and thus formed the papal system. Rome, the seat and centre of power, appears to have taken the lead of all the churches in the work of engrafting upon Christianity so many of the forms and notions of expiring Paganism. At this period there were many ecclesiastics in the metropolitan churches, and ambitious laymen in the state, who were making strenuous efforts to proselyte learned and wealthy heathens, by representing the new religion as conformable to their respective views of philosophy and Paganism. For this purpose they labored ingeniously to show the correspondences between them: substituting guardian angels in the place of tutelary deities; pictures and images instead of household gods; claiming a sacredness for relics; deifying the eucharist; and inventing a gaudy and mystic form of public worship. When Christianity was introduced into Ireland, these innovations had not been generally received, not even in Italy; nor had the Bishops of Rome yet set up their claim to universal jurisdiction. Previous to this period, each church singly, or through its synods, managed its own affairs; and this independent course was continued a long time, especially in distant countries, and particularly so in Ireland. Even when the Roman bishops made their claim to universal jurisdiction, it was a long time before it was acknowledged even in their own city; longer before it was conceded in other cities; and still longer before it was in remote and "stubborn Ireland," as that country was subsequently called by the first Romanist writers.

Papist, or Romanist, are applicable, and really imply nothing offensive; but as some suppose they do, I have generally chosen the term Roman Catholic, always placing the word Roman before Catholic, so as not to concede that the Church of Rome is "The Catholic Church."

In this connection, we should be careful to discriminate between a claim asserted and a claim allowed. It was easy for Rome to pronounce herself the Head of the Church; but it cost her centuries of hard struggling to even nominally establish that claim. Many, not well read in church history, imagine that the present Roman Catholic Church dates much further back than it really does. The claim of that church to universal jurisdiction was not made till the seventh century, or one hundred and fifty years after the commencement of the Irish Church. When it was made, Mosheim says "The ancient Britons and Scots [Irish] persisted long in maintaining their religious liberty, and neither threats nor promises could engage them to submit to the Roman pontiffs, as appears from the testimony of Bede."[1]

The truth is, the Church of Rome at that period was not herself independent, but, with all other churches, was subject, even in ecclesiastical matters, to the emperors; as, in A. D. 418, Theodosius peremptorily set aside the decree of Zosimus, Bishop of Rome, or Pope, as they were then beginning to call them; as in the case of Pelagius, and in many others. It was centuries before these bishops could extricate themselves from the paramount supremacy of the Roman emperors and subsequent kings.

II. *The Church of Ireland was not an offspring of Rome, nor yet indirectly from any church that was in sympathy with her.*

Its origin was altogether peculiar and providential.

[1] *Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History,* vol. I, p. 453.—The venerable Bede was a Briton, who wrote his Ecclesiastical History in the beginning of the eighth century. He will be often quoted in this chapter, and his testimony will be the more valuable, as he always adhered to Rome, and frequently reproached the Irish because they were "stubborn," and would not "conform to canonical rites," to the order and usages of the Roman Church.

There was little human agency in its establishment; its founder seems not to have been sent by pope, bishop, or ecclesiastical council. Its commencement was in this wise: a lad had been forced away from his native Gaul; in the land of his captivity he learned the Irish language, and gave his heart to God; on his return home, and in his maturity, he had a dream—such a one as St. Paul had when the angel called him to Macedonia; in this dream he thought he heard the voices of many in Ireland crying, "Come, holy youth, and walk with us." This call followed him by day and night, and, at last, so far as can be known, without consulting pope or bishop, attended by only a few companions, whether lay or clerical it does not appear, he set sail for Ireland, and thus, *un*-ecclesiastically, laid the foundation of the Irish Church.

The Pope's plan for the conversion of Ireland had nothing to do with that of St. Patrick's; his had been through Palladius, which had signally failed; God's purpose seems to have been directly through St. Patrick, and was signally successful.

There are many things connected with the early history of this saint and the establishment of Christianity in Ireland, that are not well known, and which would lead us to believe that the Irish Primitive Church was founded on the model of the Greek Church, rather than on that of the Latin or Roman.

It is well known that the early Church of Ireland, in her doctrine and usages, was far more in harmony with the Eastern Church than with the Latin or Western one—as in her observance of Easter, the reception of the Three Chapters, the frontal in opposition to the coronal tonsure, her form of marriage, wailing at funerals, smiting the breast in prayer, in her quotations of the Greek instead of the Latin Scriptures, and in many other customs, all of which bespeak an

Eastern origin. These correspondences are far too numerous and too identical to have been the result of mere accident. Their existence and practice reach far back, being coeval with our first knowledge of the Irish Christians. They could not have derived these from Rome, for Rome never practiced them, but sometimes expelled those who did. How, then, can we account for the opinions and usages which were so early and so generally practiced throughout all Ireland, and which required centuries of prohibitory admonitions and coercive appliances before they were discontinued?[1]

A vague opinion exists that these customs came to Ireland by sailors through the Mediterranean. This position, however, is not satisfactory. It is wholly without proof, and seems to have been merely invented to meet an exigency. The far greater probability is, that these Asiatic customs came through St. Patrick, the founder of the Irish Church.

This last view is in agreement with history, and is really the only one which can satisfactorily account for the remarkable agreement between the Greeks and the first Irish Christians. If this, then, be true, which we fully believe, we discover a curious and a pleasant fact: that neither the French nor the Irish Church was an offspring of the Church of Rome, but that both of them were born and cradled in respective independence of Rome or her bishops.

Intelligent Roman Catholics do not pretend to deny these facts, but try to dispose of them by asserting that the Irish Church, at this time, had departed from its first faith. This is entirely gratuitous, and wholly opposed to all the early history of Ireland.

[1] See chapter III, where the Greek origin of the Irish Church is more fully presented.

III. *The Irish Church, in its infancy, was wholly overlooked.*

As its establishment, under God, was the enterprise of one man, there was no ecclesiastical body to regard its future existence or progress. For centuries it was scarcely noticed in Rome or on the continent. It was too far off, and was altogether too poor, to engage the attention of bishops in and about Rome; for these ambitious dignitaries were wholly occupied with schemes at home, and with their conflict with older churches, which were resolutely opposing some of their lordly assumptions. They really had no time to look after the affairs of a small island, nearly a thousand miles from them, in the Atlantic Ocean. It was two hundred years after its establishment before the popes or their bishops took any official notice of it; and, when they did, the two churches presented themselves not in the relation of principal and subordinate, but, on the contrary, as far as independence was concerned, in the relation of equals, Rome arguing and expostulating with Ireland in regard to Easter, which both churches, at that time, esteemed a matter of great importance.

Thus, when Pope Honorius, in A. D. 630, first addressed the Irish Bishops, he spoke of them as living "away in the ends of the earth," and his language to them was not that of command, but of expostulation. "Why," he said, "should you, being so few, and living in the ends of the earth, think yourselves wiser than all other churches in regard to the celebration of Easter?"[1] When the Irish clergy refused to comply, there was no charge of insubordination brought against them, nor was there any attempt on the part of Rome to excommunicate them. The

[1] Exhortans ne paucitatem suam in extremis terræ finibus constitutam sapientiorem antiquis, sive modernis, quæ per orbem erant Christi Ecclesiis æstimarent?—*Bede's Eccl. Hist.*, lib. II, cap. 19.

early Church of Ireland had been overlooked by all the churches on the continent, and during this long neglect, in its poverty and obscurity, it had grown from infancy to maturity without their aid and without their control, following all the while the Scriptures and the teachings of their founder, who had learned his Christianity in the rural districts of Gaul, without, perhaps, knowing anything about the refinements or innovations which were springing up in Rome and in other metropolitan churches. Any one who has ever studied the life of St. Patrick, and the religious affairs at that time in Ireland, will readily discover that in his theology there were no scholastic or philosophical speculations. He appears to have rather followed the obvious meaning of the New Testament, without note or comment, and, as far as it can be ascertained, without even the embodiment of a doctrinal creed, or the observance of any very definite form of public worship. In this state of simplicity the Irish Church seems to have remained for several centuries. There was then nothing in itself, or in its surroundings, to have made it otherwise. During all this period we have no account of any Latinist from Rome, or from any other country, who ever visited Ireland to propagate the novelties which were then springing up on the continent. It was really more than five hundred years after St. Patrick, before any priest, bishop, or pope's legate, had ever visited that island.

IV. *There is no allusion to any of the dogmas or peculiarities of the Church of Rome in the writings of St. Patrick, or any of the early Irish writers.*

St. Patrick left only two well-authenticated compositions, his Confession, and his Epistle to Coroticus. Others have been attributed to him, but they are spurious.[1] In his Con-

[1] It is very remarkable that while the Roman Catholics assert everywhere that St. Patrick was a Romanist, they never quote a sentence

fession, which is rather a summary of his life and opinions, we might reasonably expect to find his creed, if he had any apart from the Scriptures, and also to find in it those Romanist doctrines which, in later years, have been attributed to him. But in all that he has left there is no allusion to any of the peculiar doctrines or usages of the Roman Catholic Church, or of anything that is not in agreement with the New Testament, as it is generally understood by Protestants. From an unbiased perusal of that Confession, the reader could not discover that these peculiarities had then existed.[1]

from his writings. Why is this? If there was any Romanism in his Confession, would they not produce it? That all may judge for themselves, I have transcribed the whole of his Confession from volume LIII of *Migne's Patrologia*, with a translation, which can be found in the appendix.

[1] The only thing in his life and writings that can be tortured into such a supposition is a sentence in his letter to Coroticus, a British chieftain, who had captured and carried off as slaves a number of Christians whom, the Irish Saint says, "I had confirmed the day before, and anointed with holy chrism on their foreheads." His own words are: "Innocentium Christianorum, quos ego innumeros Deo genui, atque in Christo confirmari, postera die qua chrisma neophyti in veste candida flagrabat in fronte ipsorum.—*Illus. Men of Ireland*, vol. I, p. 87.

This form of confirmation has been often adduced as evidence that St. Patrick was a Romanist, and, consequently, that he held all the other peculiarities of the system. But, it should be remembered, that this and several other adjuncts to baptism, or rites following it, were by no means peculiar to the Church of Rome in the time of St. Patrick. They had been practiced by most churches as early as the close of the second century, long before the Papal Church had properly an existence. Mosheim affirms, in his chapter on the Rites of this Century, that "after baptism, they [the new converts] received the sign of the cross, were anointed, and, by prayers and the imposition of hands, were solemnly dedicated to God."—*Eccl. Hist.*, vol. I, p. 170. So that this paragraph in St. Patrick's letter really proves nothing in regard to the subjection of the Irish Church to Rome any more than to Constantinople or to Alexandria, for it seems to have been the general custom of that day.

St. Patrick's experience does not savor of Romanism. In relating his feelings immediately after his conversion, as the paragraph is translated by Sir James Ware, he thus wrote: "My constant business was to feed the flocks; I was frequent in prayer; the love and fear of God more and more inflamed my heart; my faith was enlarged, and my spirit was augmented, so that I said a hundred prayers a day, and almost as many by night. I rose before day to my prayers, in the snow, and in the frost, and in the rain, and I received no damage. Nor was I affected with slothfulness, for the spirit of the Lord was warm within me."[1]

In this simple yet beautiful narrative there is nothing unscriptural, nothing superstitious; and there is in it not even an allusion to any of the peculiarities of the Church of Rome. It expresses, in scriptural style and doctrine, the warmth and the growth of his recent experience. We can hardly conceive it possible for a Romanist to have thus expressed himself, without having alluded to some of the peculiarities of that complicated system.

It is readily allowed that Romish opinions and practices have been attributed to him by his biographers, who wrote five or six centuries after his death, and at a time when the Irish Church was rapidly going over to Rome; and when these writers, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, viewed the ecclesiastical affairs of St. Patrick's day through the medium of their own times. Setting, then, these assumptions aside, where is the evidence, in anything which he ever said, did, or is supposed to have written, which would lead us to believe that he ever held or practiced any of the peculiarities which belong exclusively to Romanism? Romanism, as it has been for the last ten centuries, did not then exist.

The idea that the Primitive Irish Church was Romanist

[1] *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 390. *Patrologia*, vol. LIII, p. 801. *Confession*, § 6, Ware's translation.

is an entire assumption; but it is one, however, that has been so often asserted, and so long and so generally acquiesced in, that very few have ever thought of examining the proofs upon which this supposition is supposed to rest. At first, it seems to have been a simple supposition; then to have been assented to as truth, and, after passing centuries uncontradicted, it has been finally and inconsiderately admitted as true by even Protestants, who were otherwise well read. The fact is, that this one, with many other assumptions of the Roman Church, when duly examined, will be found to be baseless—baseless as the assumption that the present status of the Roman Catholic Church had an existence in the days of the Apostles.

V. *The two churches differed in regard to their doctrine.*

Whoever will study the history of the period marked out for the independence of the Irish Primitive Church, will find that, in many important doctrines, the latter differed widely from the former. Now, without attempting to prove negatives, or to enumerate the differences between the two churches, in regard to the time of keeping Easter, the doctrine of the Three Chapters, and many other matters of dispute, I will call the reader's attention at once to the SOURCES from which the two Churches derived their respective creeds. Consequently, if they differed in this, the most essential point—that is, the foundation upon which their respective superstructures stood—we may reasonably suppose that they must differ in many minor points. The Irish Church, as it will be more fully shown in another place, derived its doctrines solely from the Holy Scriptures; while the Church of Rome drew hers from the Scriptures and from tradition jointly, and both of these only as they were interpreted by the bishops or the ecclesiastical councils of that Church. The Roman basis, it will be seen, wholly disallowed the right of private judgment and of individual

interpretation; it instituted a few fallible bishops to be "lords over God's heritage." Thus, the respective ecclesiastical edifices stood upon wholly different foundations; they could not be united nor harmonized even in their creed or worship.

The venerable Bede, of the eighth century, who was always in sympathy with Rome, and who was steadily opposed to "the stubborn and uncanonical irregularity of the Irish," when speaking of the ministers of Iona, who were mostly from Ireland, and who embodied in their creed both the doctrines and the usages of the Irish Church, thus wrote: "They preached only such work of charity and piety as they could learn from the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical writings."[1] Now, Bede, in speaking thus specifically of the source from which these Irish teachers in Iona derived their religious belief, did not intend to speak this to their praise, but to their blame. Again, if it had been

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, III lib., cap. 4.—This declaration of Bede is in agreement with other early writers. Adomnan, in his Life of Columba, quoted by Craik in *Pict. Hist. of England*, vol. I, p. 218, says: "All the first Irish Christians were remarkable for the veneration of the Scriptures." Sedulius, an early convert of St. Patrick, wrote several expositions on them, scraps of which are preserved in Ussher's works, in one of which he objects to the Latin Vulgate, and advises all who can to read "The Hebrew Verity." Again, Bishop Ussher says that the quotations of the early Irish writers are from the Septuagint, and not from the Latin Vulgate, the version of Rome. And again, Bede records, vol. III, p. 3, that Fursey and Killian, eminent Irish ecclesiastics, or ministers, were great scriptural readers, *lexionibus sacris*. No one can peruse these scraps of the early Irish writers, collected by Archbishop Ussher, without noticing the prominence which they everywhere give to the Scriptures. Even Probus and Joseline, of the tenth and eleventh centuries, though more than half Romanized, could not finish the moral portraits of their early saints without adding that they were *viri doctissimi in Scripturis*, "men very learned in the Scriptures."

common in his day for Christians to have drawn their religious opinions wholly from the Holy Scriptures, then there would have been no point in his declaration, and he would not have made it; but there was an essential point in it, and one, too, which he meant should tell against them; and that point was that, in relying solely upon the Scriptures, they disallowed tradition and the authoritative interpretation of the Church of Rome. Thus, the Irish Church and those of Iona agreed with the protesting churches of the Reformation, to wit: "that the Holy Scriptures is the only rule, and the sufficient rule, both of faith and practice."

This, then, was their standard; and from this only these Scoto-Irish teachers, and the whole Irish Church of that period with them, derived their religious opinions; and because they did so, Bede regarded their course as unusual, and also charged them, in several other matters, with a want of conformity to "canonical practices." Thus, the two Churches differed, as has been observed, and the difference was not about trivial matters, but in essentials: about the basis on which their respective churches rested. It is readily acknowledged by the Roman Catholic Church herself, that she derives her authority both from the Scriptures and from tradition, as they have been transmitted and expounded by her bishops, popes, or by the priesthood of the Church of Rome. The source of her authority is thus set forth by Mosheim: "The religion of Rome," he says, "is derived, according to the unanimous account of all its doctors, from two sources, the written and the unwritten, or, in other words, from the Scriptures and tradition."[1]

Now, the specific point which Bede had in view was this, that these preachers in Iona would not receive tradition, nor the expositions of Rome, as authority. On the contrary, they had been taught by Columba, their founder,

[1] *Mosheim's Eccl. Hist.*, vol. III, p. 154.

"not to receive as religious truth anything not sustained by proofs drawn from the Holy Scriptures, *prolatis sacræ Scripturæ testimoniis.*"[1] And further, it should be remembered that Columba, who taught this doctrine, was a minister in the Irish Church, and had never been out of that kingdom till he was forty-three years of age. Thus, the teaching of the Irish Church, we may easily presume, was the same as that in Iona.

VI. *The Churches of Ireland and Rome would not fellowship each other.*

They differed not only in doctrine, but also in other matters; so much so that they could not worship together in the same edifice. In A. D. 676, in North Britain, before these Scoto-Irish clergy would submit to the bishops and the new regime which the popes, through the archbishops of Canterbury, were imposing upon them, they sacrificed all their worldly interests, left the country and the churches they had founded, and returned, in destitution, to Ireland. Shortly after, the papal Synod of Cealhythe decreed, "that henceforth no Scottish [Irish] priest should preach in any of their churches."[2]

Bede, and others after him, without intending it, have often given incidental evidence, in some respects more significant than direct words, that the Irish Church of that period followed only the teaching of the Scriptures, disregarding tradition and the dogmas of Rome. When eulogizing the saints and religious teachers among the Irish, they almost uniformly said that they were "men deeply learned in the Scriptures"—a commendation which, however, was scarcely ever heard after the tenth century, when the church was becoming Romanized.

[1] *Adomnan's Life of Columba. Dr. Alexander's Iona*, p. 77.

[2] *Adomnan's Life of Columba. Moore's Hist. Ireland. Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 274.

To the above we may add the testimony of a modern historian. Craik, in speaking of the Culdees,[1] or the missionaries from Iona, says, "Of the doctrines and ecclesiastical government of the Culdees we know positively very little; but it would appear that whatever may have been the principles of their founder, Columba, they eventually became to be considered as opposed to many of the claims of the Roman See." On this account, although a great part of the north of England had been converted by the missionaries sent from Iona and Ireland, it was decreed in the Council at Cealhythe, in the year A. D. 816, "that no Scottish priest, for the future, should ever exercise his functions in England." The English writers of that age, nevertheless, bear testimony to the purity of their lives, and to the zeal of their apostolic labors, while they denounce their exclusive devotedness to the authority of the Scriptures to the rejection of Romish ceremonies, doctrines, and traditions; and also the nakedness of their forms of worship, and the republican character of their ecclesiastical government.[2]

VII. *The two Churches differed not only in regard to the sources from which they derived their doctrines, but they were separated as widely in regard to their usages and modes of worship.*

For a period of more than six hundred years after its commencement, the Irish Church refused to observe most of the rites and festivals which had been enjoined by the bishops of Rome. In many cases the Irish not only refused

[1] The word Culdee means simply a *servant of God*, and was not applicable to any class of Christians until about the ninth century. From this time it was applied specifically to the religious teachers who came from Iona. Iona, as we have seen, was "a school of Irish foundation," and received nearly all its first teachers and students from Ireland: hence this school and the Irish Primitive Church were about identical in their doctrine and discipline.

[2] *Pict. Hist. England*, vol. I, p. 218. *Ussher*, vol. IV, and others.

to regard these ceremonies which had been ordained, but actually observed those that had been forbidden by the popes of Rome. In the great controversy about the tonsure, the Three Chapters, and the time of keeping Easter, which continued to agitate the Church for two or more centuries, the Church of Rome and that of Ireland were continually opposed to each other. At this day these controversies may be regarded as of little consequence, but they were not so regarded at that time; they were test questions that were litigated with great bitterness,[1] and were esteemed of such importance that no dominant church, which had the jurisdiction, would, for a moment, have allowed a subordinate one to have continued them in open opposition to its repeated injunctions. The Latin bishops, some years before, had excommunicated the Eastern Churches, because the latter would not keep Easter at the same time they did in Rome.

The Irish Church, all this while, strictly followed the custom of the East, which was particularly offensive to the bishops of Rome; for, from the time that the latter claimed the right of universal jurisdiction, they became extremely sensitive to the least departure from their dicta, in even unimportant matters, and especially sensitive in reference to a conformity to the Eastern Church, which they esteemed as their rival.

1. Now, what greater evidence of its independence could

[1] This opposition was mutual. Bede quotes a letter from Laurentius, Archbishop of Canterbury, in which it is stated that Dagan, an Irish priest, then in England, was so violently opposed to those who observed Easter after the Roman custom, that he would not eat nor drink with them, nor even sleep under the same roof where they lodged. Cuthbert, a bishop who went over to the Papal English Church in Northumberland, vowed that he would have no communion with the Irish, denounced them as heretics, and enjoined that should they get possession of his bishopric, "*to remove his bones*" to another place.—*Ussher's Works*, vol. IV, p. 27.

any church have given than that which the Irish Church gave? In an important matter, she followed her own course, in opposition to the avowed declaration of the Church of Rome.

2. She not only refused compliance with this requisition, but actually persisted in doing that which Rome had forbidden.

3. The Roman pontiffs attempted no measures to compel obedience in Ireland, as they were then doing in Italy and in other countries, where they really had authoritative jurisdiction.

Bede, who wrote about a century after the pontifical letter already referred to, or about A. D. 730, thus writes: "The nation of Scots, who inhabited the south of the kingdom of Ireland, had been admonished by the prelates of the Apostolic See to observe Easter according to canonical rite, but the northern provinces of the Scots, and the nation of the Picts, notwithstanding the Pope's admonition, did not forbear to observe, from the fourteenth moon to the twelfth, according to their usual custom."[1] Here, then, is authentic and documentary testimony, that up to the close of the eighth century the great body of the churches of Ireland would not comply with the plainest requisitions of the bishops of Rome. Consequently, we may infer, that, if they would not conform to this, the most obvious, and perhaps the least objectionable, there is strong presumption to believe that they did not conform in many other matters in which the churches differed.

That the southern part of Ireland should have complied, after nearly two centuries of controversy, cannot be regarded as an evidence of submission, but rather as the result of an argument in which they had been convinced, and of which Rome, in this instance, had certainly the better reason.

[1] *Illus. Men of Ireland*, vol. I, p. 142.

A mere change of opinion, and consequent change of practice, cannot be construed into a submission to ecclesiastical authority.

We will close this subject by a few quotations directly from Catholic authors, which will clearly show that the Irish Church, long after the period which we have assigned for its independence, did not generally obey the decrees of Rome, but persisted in following its own independent course. Baronius, the Catholic annalist of the sixteenth century, who possessed all the records, including this part of Irish Church history, in the following sentences corroborates all that has been written in regard to the independent action of the Irish clergy. "All the Irish clergy," he says, "of the eighth and ninth centuries, joined in a defence of the Three Chapters. On being condemned by the Church of Rome, and finding the sentence confirmed by the Fifth Council, they added to their crime that of schism, and separated themselves from it. They joined the schismatics, exalting themselves in the vain presumption that they were standing up for the faith."[1] This opposition in defence of the Three Chapters, however, did not originate in the eighth century, for it had been the teaching of the Irish Church from the beginning, as it had been the teaching long before of the Greek Church. According to the above Catholic authorities, the Irish, so late as the ninth century, would not submit to the Pope, nor to the council; but, after a resistance of nearly three centuries, they still maintained their primitive creed in regard to the Three Chapters. We may reasonably suppose that they did the same in regard to other points of doctrine and discipline.

St. Bernard, even in his day, as late as the eleventh century, labored to hold up before the Catholic world the

[1] *Baronii Annales*, quoted in *Illus. Men of Ireland*, vol. I, p. 73, and *Ussher*, vol. IV.

Irish clergy as "stubborn, stiff-necked, and an ungovernable generation." "They neither pay tithes," he adds, "nor first fruits; they do not enter into legitimate marriages [marriages as solemnized by the Roman Church]; they do not confess, and there is scarcely one to be found who seeks or renders penance."[1]

This certainly was a sad picture in the eyes of a Romanist of that day, but these omissions were not contrary to the Scriptures, which the Irish only professed to follow. Again, St. Bernard, in his Life of Malachy, extols the Irish saint for his high churchism, and commends him to pontifical notice, because he had been the first to introduce [A. D. 1140] into Ireland the doctrine of sacraments in regard to confirmation, confession, and marriage. His words are: "He [Malachy] of *anew* instituted the most wholesome use of confirmation, the sacrament of confession, and the contract of marriage, all of which they [the Irish] were before ignorant of, or had neglected."[2] In the same Life, he highly commends him for introducing into Ireland, for the first time, various and other portions of Romish usages, as the apostolical constitutions and the decrees of the holy fathers, and especially the holy customs of the Church of Rome, which he [Malachy] established in all the churches of Ireland. "And hence it is, at this day [A. D. 1150], the canonical hours are chanted and sung therein, according to the manner of the whole

[1] *Migne's Patrologia*, vol. LIII. 1847. *Alexander's Iona*, p. 103.

[2] *Bernard's Life of Malachy*, quoted in *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 275.

In regard to the contract of marriage, it might have been true that, during the anarchical period, particularly among the chieftains and petty kings, there had been many reprehensible marriages; but Christian marriage had always been observed among the common people, although the manner of solemnizing it had not been according to the papal ritual, but after the manner of the East, from which they must have learned it. They regarded, as in the East, the betrothal to be the real marriage.

world; whereas, before this, it was not done, even in the city" [city of Armagh].[1]

Now, these were not mere declarations of St. Bernard, but of others. Among them, the General Council, held at Cashel, A. D. 1152, with the Pope's legate at its head, "ordained that the singing of the ecclesiastical office, and also that all the offices of the church, should be from henceforth handled in all parts of Ireland according as the Church of England observes them."[2]

These quotations speak for themselves, as they are from the most accredited witnesses in the Roman Catholic Church. And thus, according to them, many of the peculiar and important doctrines and usages of Rome had not been known in the Irish Church until the twelfth century, or six hundred years after the commencement of the Church in Ireland.

Bishop Ussher, in his treatise on "The Religion of the Ancient Irish," has collected nearly all that is trustworthy in regard to the Primitive Irish Church; and, according to him, there was no established ritual in it until near the twelfth century. He thus writes: "Diverse rules, and manner of the celebration of public worship, and other church order, was observed in this kingdom [Ireland] until the Roman use was brought in by Gilbertus [A. D. 1120], about five hundred years ago."[3]

This Gilbertus was the first legate of the Pope to Ireland, and his mission was 650 years after the commencement of the Irish Church—a long neglect, if that church had belonged to the popedom. Soon Gilbertus reported to the Vatican "that Ireland was deluged with diverse and schismatical usages;" and, in a subsequent report, he required "that all these usages be brought to the one Catholic and Roman office."[4]

[1] *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 275.
[2] *Ibidem*, vol. IV, p. 319.
[3] *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 294.
[4] *Ibidem*, vol. IV, p. 295.

Here then are papal dignitaries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, urging upon the Irish Church the observance of papal rites and customs. It is ample evidence that these rites and customs could not have been in use at that time. Nor had they fallen into disuse at any former period, for some of them are the same usages which had been urged upon them centuries before, and which the Irish had not yet observed. Archbishop Ussher, whose integrity no one will question, after having collected every scrap of Irish history, positively asserts that until the arrival of Gilbertus (about A. D. 1120), these rites were not in use in Ireland; and "that until then the Pope had no temporal or real jurisdiction;" and further, that previous to A. D. 1152 "neither the name nor the office of archbishop had ever existed in Ireland."[1]

VIII. *The independence of the Irish Church can be shown from history.*

At the commencement of this paragraph, we would caution the reader not to mistake deference for subjection. We may readily admit that, during the independence of the Irish Church, there existed an undefined bond of unity among all Christians, and that, consequently, it existed between the churches of Rome and those of Ireland. But that bond was simply the profession of the same religion, and especially the possession of the same common canon, the books of the Holy Scriptures, which even Rome, at that time, allowed, in connection with tradition. Like other nations of that age, the Irish accorded to the Church of Rome, and to her bishops, a high respect, and such reasonable deference as would have been attached to a church that had been founded by the apostles, that was the chief metropolitan church of Western Christendom, and the seat and centre of sacred literature. For these reasons, in some instances, they may have called Rome "the Head of the

[1] *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 329.

Cities," an appellation which had been very early given to other metropolitan churches. But the primitive Irish Christians did not salute Rome as "the Head of the Church" until after the Anglo-Norman invasion, or, at least, till the eleventh century. Previous to this, such an appellation would have been deemed impious. This deference had nothing in it that implied an acknowledgment of dependence or of submission; it was simply the deference conceded to age and position. Whenever Rome was appealed to, it was not an appeal to an umpire, but simply to strengthen an argument, or an opinion, by presenting her views as worthy of consideration in a matter of dispute.

We will now present a few more instances in proof of the independent action of the Irish Church, drawn mostly from the history of the Scoto-Irish missionaries in North Britain. When the persecution of Penda had ceased, and the churches in that country were again in prosperity, the English clergy, who had been Romanized by St. Austin in the beginning of the seventh century, wished to come back, possess, and govern these churches, which their predecessors had deserted. At this juncture a difficulty arose. The ecclesiastical organizations of the English-Catholic and the Scoto-Irish churches were found to have been so very dissimilar, both in doctrine and discipline, that they could not agree even to conduct public worship in the same edifices. The English required the Irish clergy to conform to what they called "canonical practice," which, however, the latter refused to do. Upon this, Colman, the chief bishop in North Britain and the third episcopal incumbent, who had been brought from Ireland to fill the See of Northumberland, demurred, alleging that the usages of the Irish Church were older, and could not give precedence to the innovations of the Augustin clergy from England. Several attempts were made to adjust matters, but the differences were found to be so great and irrecon-

cilable, that order could not be preserved, and that something must be immediately done to settle this unhappy state of affairs. An appeal to the Pope was useless. Long before, he had put forth his opinion, or rather his decision, in similar cases, but the independent Irish Church could not, and had not, complied with it. Then King Oswy, as civil ruler, required that the whole matter should be presented to him for its final adjustment. The council was held A. D. 664, in the Convent of St. Hilda. The discussion was in Irish and Saxon, which was interpreted by Ceadmon.

When the arguments were closed on both sides, the king and a majority of the council decided in favor of the new rule, as that presented by Wilfred, the Pope's advocate, was then called.

Colman, condemned but not convinced, together with all the Irish and thirty of the English, refused to conform to the Anglo-Catholic rule, relinquished their charges and livings, and went to Ireland. This seems to have been a test question, and upon its decision the two churches separated, or rather found that they were so different in doctrine and usage that they could not harmonize. Although the Scoto-Irish missionaries had re-established Christianity in North Britain, and had sustained prosperous churches there for nearly seventy years, the papal bishops of England refused fellowship with them, and would not allow the validity of their ordination. Bede, the ecclesiastical historian of the eighth century, expressly says, that "in all North Britain there was not a bishop that was canonically ordained except Wiro."[1]

Before Wilfred, already mentioned, would receive ordination from the Scoto-Irish clergy, he went to France for consecration. About the same time a Romish and Saxon synod

[1] Non enim erat tunc nullus, excepto Wiro, in tota Britannia canonice ordinatus episcopus.—Lib. III, cap. 23.

decreed that "such as had been ordained by the Scots, or Britons, should be reordained, and that till then no chrism should be given to them in baptism, and that, before Catholic service should be performed in their churches, they should be sprinkled with exorcised water."[1] Margaret, the Saxon queen of Malcolm Canmore, on her arrival in Scotland (about A. D. 1070), was shocked to find the faith and public worship of her new subjects so different from that of the Catholic Church of England, in which she had been educated. She labored earnestly with her husband to induce him to adopt the rites and the order of the Saxon Catholics. She had, also, many discussions with the Culdees and other ministers in North Britain. It is, indeed, to these discussions that we are indebted for the little that we know of these times. She spoke in Saxon, and Malcolm Canmore, her husband, interpreted it in Irish to the Culdees of Iona.

Many other instances might be adduced to show the differences between the two churches, and the independent course of the Irish Church, but they are not necessary. The above, if duly considered, must have force. The truth is, the authoritative jurisdiction of the Papal See over the Irish, at this period, was not even claimed, otherwise than as it was nominally claimed over the whole world, but which Rome was wholly unable to carry out.

IX. *The Sylloge, or Collection of Ancient Letters and Manuscripts, by Archbishop Ussher*, gives us very valuable information in regard to the early Irish Church. In this Collection he presents a catalogue of saints, already alluded to in part, which was written in the eighth century. The author of that catalogue, in giving a definition of the Irish Church, has these remarkable words: *Unum caput Christum, unum ducem Patricium habebant*, "They [the Irish] had one

[1] *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 274. *Pict. Hist. of England*, vol. I, p. 219.

head, who was Christ, and one leader, who was Patrick."[1] Here the author was speaking of orders, or of jurisdiction; but in either case, there is not one word in reference to the Pope or to Rome. Patrick, under Christ, is here the acknowledged leader of the Irish churches, without the least allusion

[1] *Primord*, p. 913, or vol. IV, Dublin, 1839.

A part of this catalogue has been recently published in Dr. Todd's Life and Mission of St. Patrick, Dublin, 1864. It contains much interesting matter. It presents a curious classification of Irish saints in three distinct eras. The first is from the time of St. Patrick, in A. D. 432, to A. D. 534. "Within this period," says the catalogue, "the saints were all bishops, famous, holy, and full of the Holy Ghost; three hundred and fifty; founders of churches. There was one head, who was Christ, and one leader, who was Patrick. They observed one mass [Bishop Ussher, vol. IV, 295, says, in the early Irish Church, mass meant simply prayers and sacrament, or one ritual], one celebration, one tonsure from ear to ear. They celebrated one Easter, from the fourteenth moon to the vernal equinox; and what was excommunicated in one church, was excommunicated in all. They rejected not the voice and society of woman, because they were founded on the rock. They feared not the blast of temptation.

"The second era was from Columba, A. D. 534, to A. D. 600. In this order there were few bishops and many presbyters. They had one head, our Lord. They celebrated different masses; had different rules; one Easter; one tonsure. They refused the services of women.

"The third era was from A. D. 600, and onward. This order had holy presbyters; few bishops; lived in desert places, and on herbs and water. Had different rules and masses; different tonsures; and a different Paschal festival.

"The first order was most holy; the second, very holy; the third, holy. The first burned like the sun; the second, like the moon; the third, like the stars."

This curious manuscript, the Book of Armagh, was written in the beginning of the eighth century, and is about to be printed, for the first time, by Dr. Reeves, of England. This catalogue, as presented by Dr. Todd, clearly shows the progressive changes in the Primitive Irish Church, from the simplicity and uniformity of St. Patrick's time, to the different masses or modes of worship, and finally to Asceticism, which ultimately ended in Romanism.

to the intervention or to the superiority of the Roman See, or to any other ecclesiastical authority. If these churches had been under the jurisdiction of the popes in the seventh century, this definition would not have been made. It would not have been true, and the author would have been deemed rebellious; for this was about the time that the popes were pressing their claims to universal dominion, and were consequently the more sensitive on this subject. It was about six hundred years after the landing of St. Patrick, before the popes began to interfere authoritatively in the affairs of Ireland. During this long period the Irish bishops appear to have been elected by the people, or by the rest of the clergy, with the advice and approbation of the Irish kings and chiefs; but without the least interference and perhaps without the knowledge of any foreign church power.[1] Even so late as the twelfth century, Geraldus, who accompanied Henry II in his invasion of Ireland, says "There were no archbishops in Ireland, but the bishops did only consecrate each other, until John Papyrio, the Pope's legate, came thither, not many years back." [A. D. 1152.][2] One of the charges brought by Henry II of England against the Irish clergy, before his invasion, was that in episcopal consecrations there was frequently only one bishop present and officiating.[3]

[1] Archbishop Ussher, long after this, says expressly, "That all the affairs of their [the Irish] bishops and churches were done at home." Vol. IV, p. 325. And further, on a certain occasion, adds, "That the people and the King of the Scots took one Levinus, and made him bishop."—*Ibidem*. Also quoted in *Catholic Religion*, p. 34, Dublin, 1839.

[2] In *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 435. *Gerald.*, lib. I, p. 34.

[3] There is also a tradition recorded in *Illus. Men of Ireland*, vol. I, p. 118, and on as good authority as most other traditions, that when Columba was sent to an adjoining parish for episcopal ordination, Etchen, the officiating bishop, mistook episcopal for presbyterial

X. *The Church of Rome was continually charging the Irish Church with heresies and irregularities.*

The first communication ever made to them was of this character. The most of these we have already noticed, in the paschal and other controversies. It should be also particularly remembered that these were not casual complaints. Several of them had been continued for centuries; not one of them was ever settled by a decision of the Pope. So far as they were ever settled, it was effected by the lapse of time.

Whenever an immediate adjustment was necessary, as in the case of Northumberland, an appeal was made, not to the Pope, but directly to the king or to the civil authorities. These reputed heresies, charged upon the Irish Church, were not of recent origin; they had been frequently noticed, and very early. They were first noticed in the seventh century; complained of again in the eighth; were again repeated by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the twelfth; and were afterward continually made until the Irish Church had been finally and fully Romanized.

About a century before the English invasion, Lanfranc

ordination, and thus ordained him only a presbyter. Columba thought the mistake was providential, and never would receive any other, although he was the founder of the Culdees, and of a great many churches in different countries. In founding Iona, the most noted theological seminary of its day, and from which went out hundreds of missionaries, Columba ordained that the abbot of the institution should be invariably a presbyter. There is other evidence in Irish history, that the third ordination was not always deemed necessary. In their government, they had bishops, presbyters, and deacons, but there seems to have been no definite limits to their parishes, and dioceses are never mentioned, for they had none. For two centuries a presbyter abbot was really the governing primate of the Picts and Scots; and so, it is presumed, was the order in Ireland. See *North British Review*, September, 1867.

and Anselm, archbishops of Canterbury, and the Danish bishops in Ireland, whom they had so *un*-ecclesiastically ordained, were continually urging upon the popes the necessity of their interference to reform the Church of Ireland. For this purpose, in A. D. 1120, the Pope appointed Gillebert, the Danish Bishop of Limerick, his legate, who was thus the first papal representative in Ireland, and who was appointed 670 years after the commencement of the Irish Church. On entering upon his office, he soon reported to the Vatican concerning the *diversi et schismatici ordines quibus Hibernia pene tota delusa est,* "the various and schismatical usages with which Ireland was nearly deluged."[1]

Now, we presume that these heresies, which the legate thought he saw, were nothing new, but simply the usages which had existed in Ireland from the beginning of its church, for Columbanus, in his letter to Pope Boniface IV, vindicates the integrity and orthodoxy of the Irish. He maintained that "All the natives of Ireland, whose dwellings were upon the confines of the earth, received no doctrine beyond what the evangelists and apostles had taught. They were the followers of Peter and Paul, and of all the disciples who, by divine inspiration, wrote the sacred canon of Scripture." "Among them," he said, "there never had been a heretic, nor a Jew, nor a schismatic; but that we adhere, with unshaken firmness, to the faith as we received it at first from you [of the East], to wit, the faith of the successors of the apostles."[2] Hence, there is not a vestige of evidence, previous to the ninth or tenth century, that they had departed from their first faith, as delivered to them by St. Patrick; but Columbanus charged the bishops of Rome with departing from the "faith of the successors of the apostles," at the same time.

[1] *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 274.

[2] See *Ussher*, vol. IV, on the Religion of the Ancient Irish

XI. *The ancient British Church was also independent, and, equally with the Irish Church, was opposed to that of Rome.*

The British Christians of the seventh century, or those in England before the coming of St. Augustin, were the regular descendants of the first church in that country, which had been founded by the apostles, or their immediate successors, in the first century. After the Roman emperors abandoned Britain, these Christians for a long time suffered persecutions, particularly from the pagan Saxons, who were then gross idolators. When Augustin, from papal Rome, in A. D. 595, came, as it is improperly said, to re-establish Christianity in Britain, he wished this primitive British church to join him. For some time "the heads of the church" hesitated; but, on an interview with St. Augustin, they became indignant at the metropolitan authority which he assumed over them, and abruptly and unqualifiedly refused to have any connection with him."[1]

Between the Papal Anglican Church, then being established by St. Augustin, and the old Apostolical British Church, of this period, there appears to have been about the same opposition, and the same dissimilarity, that existed between the former and the Primitive Irish Church. The venerable Bede sets this forth very strongly. Adverting

[1] *Pict. Hist. of England*, vol. I, p. 221, and *Ussher*, vol. IV, on Ancient Britons.

Mr. Pinkerton, in his *Enquiry*, vol. II, p. 265, has the following: When Augustin required the Welsh clergy to join him, they hesitated, and consulted an aged brother, who told them, "If the stranger is a man of God, follow him." But they asked, how they should know that he was a man of God. "By his humility," replied the aged saint: "if he shall rise and meet you." Seven bishops waited upon him, but the Pope's legate did not rise, but required an immediate and unqualified submission, which, however, they resisted until afterward coerced into it.

to the British Christians, in A. D. 731, his words are: "It is the manner of these Britons to hold the faith and religion of the English [that was, of those who followed the Augustin or papal form] in no account at all, nor to communicate with them in anything no more than with pagans."[1]

This opposition was strong and long continued, at least until the massacre of the twelve hundred Welsh monks of Bangor. The Welsh Chronicles, written in the seventh century, and attributed to the bard Talisen, will reveal the stout resistance which these British Christians made to the spiritual despotism which the popes and the archbishops of Canterbury were then fastening upon their ancient church. Among other things, the bard thus denounces the careless and vacillating ministers of his day:

> "Wo be to that priest yborne,
> That will not cleanly weed his corne,
> And preach his charge among—
> Wo be to him that doth not keepe
> From *Romish wolves* his sheepe,
> With staffe and weapon strong."[2]

These, and many other instances which might be presented, show very clearly the wide differences then existing between the primitive British and Irish churches and that which St. Augustin was establishing in England, in the

[1] *Bede's Eccl. Hist.*, lib. II, cap. 20.

[2] *The Chronicles of Wales*, p. 254. The Pictorial History of England says they were compiled by Tyssilio, of the seventh century. Gildas, who wrote a generation before Bede, as in Ussher, vol. IV, p. 332, said, "The Britons are contrary to the whole world, and are enemies to Roman customs." As already stated, a Saxon Council decreed "that the ordinations of Britons and Scots [Irish] should not be allowed." That before Catholic worship, their churches should be purified. The Abbot of Malmesbury, England, added, "if a Catholic of his charge should go and dwell with a Briton, none should keep company with him, till he had done penance forty days."—*Ibidem.*

sixth century, and was trying to establish in Wales and Ireland.

The assertion of the Romanists, that the Irish Church of that period had degenerated from the teachings of St. Patrick, is in no way tenable; it is a mere supposition to meet an exigency. There is not a vestige of history to support it; the Irish people were not given to change.[1] What had been said of them by Mosheim, in the seventh century, was equally true of them long afterward: "That neither the threats nor promises of the ambitious pontiff could induce them to submit to his authority." Even so late as the close of the twelfth century, when England began to introduce Romanism into Ireland, the two churches were so widely dissimilar that a synod was called, for the purpose of bringing the Irish Church into conformity with those of Rome and the Papal Church of England. The decrees of this synod were published, and, after the labors of two hundred years to enforce them, Mr. Moore, who was himself a Roman Catholic, thus writes: "Even at this period [A. D. 1376] the church of the government [the English] and the church of the people in Ireland were almost as much separated from each other in race, language, political feeling, and even in *ecclesiastical discipline*, as they have been at any period since by the difference of creed." The attempt made by the Synod of Cashel, in the year A. D. 1172, to assimilate the rites and discipline of the Irish Church with that of England, entirely failed of its object, and the native clergy and the people followed their own ecclesiastical rules,

[1] Among the hundred instances that might be cited in regard to their tenacity, we will present only one: the same Brehon laws which St. Patrick had heard proclaimed on the hills, in the fifth century, were again, despite of the most barbarous penalties of the English, proclaimed on the same hills, and in the same language, a thousand years afterward

as if the decrees of that memorable synod had never been issued.[1]

The above historical facts, we think, will fully show, that for more than six hundred years after its organization, the Irish Church differed widely from the Roman, as well as from the then Papal Church of England; and that it was still holding fast to the creed and the religious usages which it had at first received from its founder. To evade the force of these records, the Roman Catholics assert that these differences were only disciplinary, while the churches were the same in doctrine. This is not true. They differed in essentials, in regard even to the basis on which their respective churches were founded—the Irish Church building on the Scriptures of God as the rule, and the only rule, of faith and practice; while the Church of Rome was based on the Scriptures and tradition, and on both only as they were interpreted by the priesthood, a construction which throws everything into the power of the priest, who lords it over God's heritage.

[1] *Hist. of Ireland,* Am. edition, p. 350.

V

GOVERNMENT OF THE IRISH CHURCH.

Little known concerning it...Had no Hierarchy for Eight Hundred Years...Was Governed by Synods...Its Internal Condition, as seen from the Book of Armagh...Its Great Changes.

In regard to the government of the church which St. Patrick established in Ireland, we have but little exact information—not even enough to form a theory. But silence in some cases is as significant as utterance. If the complicated system existing in Rome had been introduced into Ireland, it seems almost impossible that there should not have been some allusion to it; but there is none. Phrases like those of prelates, dioceses, and archbishops, so profusely used by St. Patrick's mediæval biographers, are simply absurd in their application to the infant Church of Ireland. At the introduction of Christianity in that country, and for five hundred years after it, these terms were not used: for the church then had no such offices or divisions. Archbishop Ussher, who collected every historical scrap in regard to early Ireland, and who studied its history more thoroughly than any other man, says, in his Sylloge, "that until the eleventh century, there was neither the name nor the office of archbishop in the Irish Church; not until John Papyrio, the Pope's legate."[1]

The Irish had bishops, but whether they were parochial or diocesan, bishops of congregations or of provinces, is not

[1] Archiepiscopoi non in Hibernia nulli fuerent donec Joannes Papyrio Romanus sedis Legatus.—Vol. IV, p. 320.

stated; but from their great number, we should infer that they were bishops of congregations. Ninnius, of the seventh century, says, "that St. Patrick ordained 360 bishops."[1] The Book of Armagh, an accredited catalogue of saints, written in the seventh century, says "that Patrick ordained 350 bishops, who were founders of churches,"[2] and St. Bernard, as late as the eleventh century, upbraids the Irish for having a "bishop for nearly every church."[3] Ussher, speaking of the Irish Christians, says "that all the affairs of their bishops and churches were done at home."[4] The fact is, that the Irish Church, for several centuries after its commencement, was overlooked by Rome. It was too poor, too distant, in the "ends of the earth," as they said; and thus, in its poverty and obscurity, it grew to maturity, carrying out that form of Christianity which their founder had brought with him from the rural districts of Gaul, without apparently knowing anything of the innovations that were then transpiring on the continent.

In regard to the head of their church, the above catalogue, of the seventh century, is very explicit. It says, "they [the Irish] had one head, who was Christ, and one leader, who was Patrick."[5] Here is no allusion to the Pope, nor to any foreign church. Had St. Patrick been sent by the Bishop of Rome, and had he founded the church under papal authority, there certainly would have been some reference to it; but there was not the least. St. Patrick, immediately under Christ, was the leader or general superintendent of the

[1] Quoted by *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 276. [2] *Ussher's Sylloge*, p. 913.

[3] Sed singulæ ecclesiæ, pene singulos haberent episcopos.—*Life of St. Malachy.* [4] *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 322.

[5] *Ibidem.*—Unum caput Christum, unum ducem Patricium habebant.—*Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 325, and in *Primord*, p. 913. It is worthy of notice that the early Irish did not affix the word "saint" to their ministers, churches, monasteries, or evangelists.

Irish Church. Further, when St. Patrick wished to set forth his authority in an important case, the excommunication of a British chieftain, he simply styles himself "a bishop constituted in Ireland,"[1] without the least reference to the Pope, or to a commission from any foreign church. In this name, and by this authority, which he says "*he had received from God,*" he exercised, through life, a general supervision over all the Irish churches. In this respect, he appears to have left no successor, for, after his death, we hear of no such general oversight. The probability is, that each synod afterward managed their own affairs wholly among themselves.

We have no continuous account of the synods of the early Church of Ireland. We know that a few were held in Armagh, and, no doubt, many were convened throughout the island; for it is most probable that, at that time, nearly all the general business of the church was done through them. We might wish to know who composed them, what was their order, and what the character of their canons; but we can only presume that everything pertaining to them was of the simplest kind, and that during St. Patrick's life they were under the immediate direction of their founder. Centuries after his decease the decrees of several synods were attributed to him; but the accounts of them are not credible. There is one, however, that is trustworthy: the one that was held in Armagh about A. D. 464, and which ordained what is known as the "Canons of Armagh," or those of St. Patrick. These are acknowledged to be genuine and very ancient, as some of them are directed against the observance of pagan practices, which must have existed

[1] Ego Patricius, indoctus, scilicet Hibernione constitutum episcopum me esse fateor: Reor à Deo accepi, id quod sum.—*Epis. ad Coroticus. Migne's Patrologia*, vol. LIII, p. 810.

The copy of M. Migne has in it the words "fateor" and "reor," which are not in all others.

when they were first put forth: as forbidding the admission into the church of any ecclesiastic who followed pagan customs; and another, which prohibits Christians from consulting soothsayers, or the inspection of the entrails of beasts in regard to fortune-telling;[1] another, the sixth, which required that, whenever the wife of a priest went abroad, she should not appear without her veil. Celibacy was, at this time, agitated in some parts of Christendom; but the controversy seems not to have reached Ireland, nor, perhaps, the rural districts of Gaul, where St. Patrick had been born, for his father and grandfather, though ministers, were both married men.[2]

Many other synods were, no doubt, held in the same city, and in other cities; but we have no authentic account of them. Even those which we have evidently show that all their doings were within themselves. There is not the least intimation of any foreign interference in regard to their officers, their acts, or the doctrines which they taught. Without detail, we may assert a truth, and one which may serve as a clue to guide us in other instances: that the Church of Ireland was founded by a plain man, and, as he often says of himself, by *an unlearned man*—one who knew very little about the machinery of government, and who constructed his infant church in the most simple and natural manner. In this state of isolation, poverty, and obscurity,

[1] Clericus si pro Gentili, in ecclesiam recepi non licet. And, in the fourteenth is the decree against telling fortunes: Christianus, qui more Gentilium ad aurispicem meaverit.—*Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 294. *Moore's Hist. of Ireland*, p. 119.

[2] *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 294.—Here we may remark, that the mediæval biographers of St. Patrick seem to assert whatever they please for truth. In this instance, they boldly declare that his father and grandfather only sustained the marriage relation before they entered the ministry, which declaration is without a shadow of proof, and against the usages of those times.

it continued for a long time. There was nothing to make it otherwise. It had no wealth to give, nor offices to confer. The Book of Armagh,[1] an accredited manuscript of the seventh century, gives us some valuable information in regard to the Irish Church after the death of St. Patrick. It presents a curious classification of Irish saints in three distinct eras. The first is from the commencement of the Irish Church, A. D. 432, to A. D. 534. "Within this period," the manuscript says, "the saints were all bishops, beloved, holy, and full of the Holy Spirit. In number they were 350; all founders of churches. They had one head, who was Christ, and one leader, who was Patrick. They observed one mass,[2] one celebration, one tonsure from ear to ear. They celebrated one Easter, from the fourteenth of the moon after the vernal equinox. What was excommunicated in one church was excommunicated in all. They rejected not the voice and the society of women, because they were founded on the rock, and feared not the blast of temptation."[3]

"The second era was from Columba, A. D. 534, to A. D.

[1] This manuscript seems to have attracted much notice of late. Dr. Reeves, of Dublin, is soon to publish it. Its history is this: For a long time it was handed about among people and read as a curiosity. Archbishop Ussher saw it in 1638, and pronounced it authentic. It was afterward bought, sold, and pawned for debt, still increasing in value as it became known until 1858, when the Archbishop of Armagh purchased it for £300, and placed it securely in Trinity Church Library of Dublin. Its authenticity is now acknowledged by both Catholics and Protestants.

[2] *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 294, says "that mass, in the early Irish Church, meant simply prayers and sacrament, or one course of church service." That is, *missa est ecclesia:* the church is dismissed, or the service is over.

[3] As the manuscript catalogue is not generally known, we will transcribe a portion of it: Primus ordo Catholicorum Sanctorum erat in tempore Patricii. Ex tunc erant episcopi omnes clari et sancti, et spiritu sancto pleni, cccl numero, ecclesiarum fundatores. Unum

600. In this order there were few bishops and many presbyters. They had one head, our Lord. They celebrated different masses; had different rules; one Easter; one tonsure. They refused the services of women."

"The third era began A. D. 600. This order had holy presbyters; few bishops; lived in desert places, and fed on herbs and water; had different rules and masses; different tonsures, and different paschal festivals."

"The first order was most holy; the second, very holy; the third, holy. The first burned like the sun; the second, like the moon; the third, like the stars."

This singular composition casts considerable light over a very dark period of the Irish Church. The writer, in the main, seems to refer to certain monkish orders which were springing up in the Irish Church, rather than to the whole clergy. In the first period, there were 350 bishops, and all (*ecclesiarum fundatores*) were founders of churches. These must have been bishops of congregations, as is evident from their numbers, and the absence of all dioceses at that time. The first era is characterized by very great simplicity, which is in perfect keeping with all that is in the saint's Confession. These simple-hearted Irish Christians, as those in the apostolic times, appear to have availed themselves of the help of women in the cause of Christ. The second era, as it approached the seventh century, reveals the progress of monachism, which, however, is not to be regarded as applicable to the parochial clergy, who, from other accounts,

caput Christum, et unum ducem Patricium habebant. Unam missam, unam celebrationem, unam tonsaram (ab aure, usque ad aurem) sufferebant. Unam Pascha xiv luna post æquinoctium vernale celebrabant: et quod excommunicatum esset ab una ecclesia, omnes excommunicabant, mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant; quia super petram Christum fundati, ventum tentationis non timebant.—*Ussher Sylloge Prim.*, 913. *Illus. Men of Ireland*, vol. I, p. 67, Dublin, 1839.

continued to be a faithful, unaspiring body of men. In the third era monachism became exclusive and ascetic, and was confined mostly to seats of learning. Yet all were under the One Head, without any reference to the Pope, or to any foreigu church.

The church in Armagh was most probably the first Christian edifice ever built in Ireland. It was built about A. D. 455, or twenty-two years after St. Patrick's landing. The structure was, no doubt, small, humble, and of frail materials, which soon passed away; but other buildings succeeded it, and although they were often plundered and burned, yet, through a period of 1400 years, the site which St. Patrick selected has never been long without an edifice upon it. Such a continuation of churches, through so many years of desolation and political convulsion, is at once an evidence of the vitality of Christianity and of the undying attachment of the Irish people to the religion of their founder.

It is said that St. Patrick was Archbishop of Armagh, and Benignus was his successor. This notion is foolish. It is surprising to hear even some Protestants of this day applying to the infant Church of Ireland, in the fifth century, the terms of prelates, dioceses, archbishops, and others of a hierarchy, when there were no such divisions nor offices in that church for nearly 600 years afterward. In regard to the succession, we really know nothing. If the succession in Rome, in a period of light and letters, cannot be satisfactorily ascertained, as Eusebius affirms, how vain it is to seek for the succession in Armagh, just then rising out of heathenism, and afterward, for centuries, convulsed by war and devastation. The same may be said of every other church in Ireland. Ware, and other eminent writers, are thought to have spent a great deal of useless labor in attempting to trace a regular succession of bishops from these early churches. For the first three hundred years after St. Pat-

rick, we know very little about any particular church; but, from our scanty materials, we would judge that the Irish churches of that period bore very little resemblance to those on the continent, or to those which afterward existed in Ireland in the ninth and tenth centuries.

As often intimated, our knowledge of these early times is extremely limited. Prosper and the venerable Bede, who might have given us more information, do not even mention the name of St. Patrick, although the latter does that of Palladius, his predecessor, and attempts to attribute the conversion of Ireland to him. Incidental evidences are frequent in the writings of the early Roman Catholics, that St. Patrick and his mission to Ireland were not very favorably regarded by them. The government and condition of the Irish Church may be divided into periods. That from its commencement to some period in the sixth century was one of general prosperity. From the last date to the beginning of the ninth century the church was celebrated for her schools, scholars, and the number of the missionaries she sent to North Britain, England, France, Germany, and to several States of Central Europe. The third period, from the commencement of the ninth century to the Anglo-Norman invasion, was one of war and devastation. The irruptions of the Danes, joined with the general discord of the native chieftains, prostrated everything. The churches and monasteries were burned, the scholars were dragged into the army or driven to the continent, and nothing but the power of the church kept society from a general dissolution. The last sad period was from the invasion to the reformation. During the most of this period the Irish Church was really far more in agreement with the incoming reformers, than with the then existing Roman Catholic, which regarded most of the Irish as heretics. The further history of these times can be seen in the last chapter of this work, in the Romanization of the Irish Church.

VI

SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARS.

The Early Monasteries of Ireland were simply Christian Schools...Were Numerously Attended from the Continent...Testimony of the Benedictines...Of Montalembert...Armagh Founded A. D. 450...Clonard Abbey...Clonmacnois...Banchor...Glendolough...Derry...Had the Irish a Translation of the Scriptures in their own Language?...Letter of a Saxon Scholar.

WITH St. Patrick and his successors, religion and literature were twin sisters. Wherever they could collect a large congregation, there they generally founded a school, or monastery, as they were afterward called. Bishop Ussher says "that St. Patrick founded about one hundred of them."[1] In their commencement they must have been mere Christian schools. They could not have been like the monasteries of a later period, for there were not then half enough of converts to have filled them. Students, young and old, married or single, lay or clerical, came and left at their pleasure. Aldfrida, King of Northumberland, and many princes from the continent, were educated in them. At a later period, Ussher says "that our monasteries, in ancient times, were seminaries of the ministry, being mere colleges of learned divines, where the people did resort for instruction, and to get their supply of ministers."[2]

[1] The main object of this chapter is to show that the character of these schools, the studies in them, and almost every movement in regard to them, were inconsistent with the idea that they were under the control of the Church of Rome.

[2] *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 294.

"These schools, founded by St. Patrick in embryo, flourished for several centuries, and were acknowledged by cotemporaneous writers on the continent to have been eminent for religion and literature, and also to have drawn to them great numbers of students from almost every country in Europe."[1]

The authors of the Literary History of France say "that the people [Irish] living near the ends of the earth, not being exposed to revolutions, have done more to preserve literature than all other parts of Europe."[2]

A later writer says "that Ireland sent forth her sons into every part of the then known world. From Iceland to Tarenton in Italy, where Cathal, of Lismore, is this day venerated as the patron saint (San Cataldo), we find them occupying the episcopal sees, or forming themselves into religious communities."[3] The Pictorial History of England further says "that, at that time [from the eighth to the tenth centuries], and down to a later date, the chief seat of learning in Europe was Ireland, and that the most distinguished scholars in other countries were either Irishmen, or those who had received their education in Irish schools."[4] For centuries they were regarded as general transcribers, supplying, in those days, to some extent, the place of printers, and became celebrated, not only for the correctness of their copies, but for the elegance of their penmanship. Montalembert, in his recent Monks of the West, says "that in Ireland, more than anywhere else, each monastery was a school, and each school a workshop of transcription of new copies of the Holy

[1] *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 294.

[2] Les gens de ce pays, presq' a le extremité du monde avoient mieux conservé la litterature, parce qu'ils etoient moiens exposés aux revolutions que les autres parties de l'Europe.—*Hist. Litter.*, tome IV.—*Moore's Hist. of Ireland.*

[3] *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1864.

[4] *Craik* in *Pict. Hist. of England*, vol. I, p. 278.

Scriptures and the apostolic fathers, which were dispersed throughout Europe. Some of these copies are still to be found, and recognized by the original and elegant character of their Irish writing, as also by the use of the alphabet common to all the Celtic races, and which was afterward employed by the Saxons."[1]

The Monastery of Armagh is supposed to have been established A. D. 458, and was the first one in Ireland. Having continued for some time in its humblest form, a chieftain of the country gave, for its enlargement, a portion of land "large in compass and beautiful for situation." Within this grant, on a small eminence called *Druisailech*, "the Hill of Willows," St. Patrick erected his first school edifice. This humble institution, like the church to which it was attached, increased steadily in numbers and influence, till it became a college, then a university, and, according to Malte Brun and others, during the dark ages, it was the most celebrated seat of learning in Western Europe, and taught and accommodated, at one time, seven thousand students. Foreign students were so numerous that different parts of the city were known after their respective nationalities. One part was called *Trian Sassenagh*, "the Saxon quarters," and is at this day known as English street. Archbishop Ussher says "that through the ninth and tenth

[1] Montalembert enumerates the schools or monasteries which the Irish scholars and missionaries established in different countries. He says "they established thirteen in Scotland; twelve in England; seven in France; twelve in Armorica; seven in Lorrain; ten in Alsatia; fifteen in Rhetia, Helvetia, and Alemania, without counting many in Thuringia and on the Lower Rhine."—*Monks of the West*, Paris, 1866. Each of these, says the *British Review*, March, 1868, became afterward the "centre of an intellectual movement." These schools have been very seldom recognised in English literature. We are indebted to the French and German for nearly all that we know about them.

centuries, during the gloom and the storms of the Danish persecution, a succession of professors of divinity can be traced in the celebrated school of Armagh.[1]

But the day of darkness came upon it. About the middle of the ninth century [846], its sacred edifices were burned by the Danes, together with its churches, dormitories, and the most of its ancient and valuable manuscripts. Faranan, the Bishop of Armagh, and who was then most probably the abbot of the monastery, was seized, together with many of its students, and was carried away to the ships of the Danes, then in the harbor of Limerick, where they were held as captives for redemption, or as slaves for bondage. The love of letters had engrossed the heart of the nation, and soon this monastery was again rebuilt, and even enlarged. In the next generation its reputation was higher, and its patronage more extended than it had ever been before: students flocked to it from France, Britain, Germany, and other countries on the continent.[2]

Clonard Abbey was founded by Finnian about A. D. 500. As the name imports, it was beautifully situated on "the heights" of the river Boyne. In time it became very celebrated. The venerable Bede says "that crowds came to it from other kingdoms that they might receive instruction and lead a holier life."[3] It was also noted for the extraordinary eloquence of its founder; particularly for his ability in the exposition of the Holy Scriptures. Thus, it seems that, in

[1] *Ussher's Primord*, p. 861.

[2] As Armagh was the oldest, it soon became the richest, of the monasteries, and was, on that account, the more liable to pillage. It was a custom with many Irish scholars to gild their choicest manuscripts, and to place them in Armagh for safe keeping. This fact becoming known to the Danes, it is supposed that they plundered it the oftener to get the gold upon them.

[3] Dungallus said it had three thousand scholars.—*Moore's History*, p. 126.

the sixth century, the ecclesiastics then most renowned were not mere officiators, but were those who were preachers. The Irish Annals tell of thousands who came to hear him.

Clonmacnois was founded about A. D. 528. It began on an island in the Shannon, which had long been known as the silent and gloomy retreat of the Druidic priests. Kiaran and his associates, however, soon made it reverberant with the sound of praise and prayer. It afterward became the school for the sons of "The Notables." This institution, like all others in Ireland, suffered by the irruptions of the Danes. It was often plundered, or burned, with all its books and manuscripts. During these Danish inroads, there seems to have been, throughout Ireland, an extraordinary spirit of recuperation, or religious zeal, which impelled the patrons of learning so readily and so repeatedly to repair, or rebuild, these sacred edifices. The last destruction of this noble institution, and the only one of which we have any detailed account, was perpetrated in A. D. 1201, by the English, under Henry Fitz Meyler, and it was never resuscitated.

Banchor, founded about A. D. 550, was situated on the heights of Ulster. It sent out hundreds of scholars and missionaries to Central Europe, among whom were St. Gall, Columbanus, and, perhaps, most of the first preachers in Germany. In A. D. 818 the spoilers came. It was rebuilt after several burnings, and finally fell to extinction on the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons.

Glendolough was founded about A. D. 618. For its students, visitors, and others, at one period, it sustained seven churches. One only of them is now discoverable by its ruins. It has been long known among poets and romancers for its legend of Cathleen and St. Kiven. Moore thus sang of them:

> "By the lake, whose gloomy shore
> Skylark never warbles o'er,
> Where the cliffs hang high and steep,
> Young St. Kiven stole—to sleep."

The *Monastery of Derry* was founded A. D. 555. Bede says that before Columb [Columba] went to Britain, he founded a noble monastery in Ireland, where there were plenty of oaks, "called by the Scots *Diar Mach*, the Field of Oaks." The ancient Irish had a peculiar veneration for the oak. That the reader may have a condensed view of the calamities through which this institution passed, we will here present a miniature outline of its history, which, with a few variations, may tell the story of nearly every other one in that unhappy country. In the Annals of the Four Masters are the following entries in regard to this monastery, beginning toward the close of the eighth century: "In A. D. 783 Derry Galgash was burned; in 989 it was plundered by foreigners." The same entry occurs for 997. "In 1095 the abbey was burned; in 1124 a prince of Aileach was slain in an assault on the Church of Columbkille; in 1135 Derry Columbkille, with all its churches, was burned; in 1149 it was burned; in 1166 it underwent another burning; in 1195 the church was plundered; in 1203 Derry was burned from the burial-ground of St. Martin's to the Well of Adamnan; in 1211 the town was plundered and destroyed; in 1213 it was again plundered; in 1214 it was, with the whole district [O'Neill's country], granted by King John [of England] to Thomas MacUchtred, of Athol; and again, in 1222, Derry was plundered by O'Neill."[1]

And so matters went on, for more than another century, between the Saxons and the Celts, the invaders and the invaded, in which each was alternately the victor or the vanquished. The wonder is, that after these four hundred years of strife, of fire, and plundering, that even a vestige of learning or of civilization should have remained in that unhappy country.

An inquiry has arisen. Had the early Irish a written

[1] *Illust. Men of Ireland*, vol. I, p. 10. *Ware's Antiquities.*

version of the Scriptures in their own language? Concerning this there is no positive proof. We are left to inferences and *a priori* arguments; but these should not be despised. A study of their times leads us to the belief that these early Christians had, in whole or in part, a translation of the Scriptures.

1. As we have seen, St. Patrick must have been a great Bible-reader. In his short Confession he has twenty-five direct quotations from the Bible, and a scriptural phraseology pervades all his writings.

2. The histories of Ireland say that he established about one hundred schools. These schools were not for general learning, but to teach the native heathen the doctrines and duties of Christianity. Can we suppose that so great a lover of the Scriptures would have allowed, during the thirty-four years of his ministry, these schools and the whole nation to have remained destitute of a translation of the Word of God?

3. There was a necessity for a translation in Ireland. When Christianity passed into continental Europe, it generally found the Latin, or the *Latinâ rustica*, sufficiently diffused to make it a vehicle of communication with the people. This was not the case in Ireland. The learned languages never reached the masses of that country; they knew only the Hiberno-Celtic. The new faith must have been communicated through this, or not at all.

4. Ireland, at this time, had the means of such a translation. Although the nation had been deteriorating for centuries, yet it had an alphabet and a written language. Its Brehon laws and annals were written in it. The Druids, their priests, had two alphabets, an open and common one, and one esoteric, or hidden; for their priests, like those of a later day, did not want the people to know the whole truth. We cannot believe that these early missionaries would have neglected such efficient means to further their cause.

Finally, Montalembert says the Irish missionaries of the

dark ages almost supplied the place of printers, and that their transcriptions, found in libraries on the continent, are still recognized by their correctness and the beauty of their penmanship. Would these transcribers, so zealous to multiply copies of the sacred Scriptures for others, have allowed their own nation to have remained without one that they could read?

Having noticed a few of the early schools in Ireland, we might give an account of some of the seventy-seven which Montalembert says the Irish established on the continent, but our space will not allow it. We will close this short chapter by an extract from a curious letter, addressed by a Saxon scholar, Aldheim, to his countryman, Edfrid, who had just returned from Ireland, and in which the writer labors to exalt the English schools and their teachers. In this letter, however, while betraying his jealousy of the Irish schools, he, at the same time, speaks most creditably of their number and of the state of their literature.

"Why should Ireland," he exclaims, "whither troops of students are daily transported, boast of such unspeakable excellence, as if, in the rich soil of England, Greek and Roman masters could not be had to unlock the treasures of divine knowledge? Though Ireland, rich in blooming scholars, is adorned, like the poles of the earth, with innumerable bright stars, it is Britain that has her radiant sun, her sovereign pontiff, Theodore,[1] matured from his earliest age in the school of philosophy. It is she that also possesses Adrian, his companion, graced with every virtue. This[2] is

[1] The Archbishop of Canterbury, whom the Pope had sent, A. D. 665, from Italy to England.

[2] Etiamsi beatæ memoriæ Theodorus summi sacerdotii gubernacula regens, Hibernensium globe discipulorum, ceu aper truculentus molossorum catastâ ringente vallatus stipetur; limato perniciter *grammatico dente.—Epist. Hibern. Sylloge.* Quoted by Moore, *Hist. of Ireland*, p. 150.

that Theodore, though he should be surrounded by a circle of Hibernian scholars, as a boar in the midst of snarling dogs, yet, as soon as he bares his *grammatical tooth*, puts quickly to flight the rebel phalanx."

These schools, toward the close of the ninth century, began to decline, both in numbers and excellence. Before this period they had been frequently devastated by the inroads of the Danes; but they had been as often resuscitated. After this period they went down almost to extinction.

VII

MISSIONARIES.

Columba....Goes to Albyn....Founds Iona....Goes to the Western Isles. Returns to Albyn....Last Visit to Ireland....Death....Character. Decay of Iona. Missionaries to North Britain, A. D. 633—700. Aidan...Finnan...Colman...The Debate. Missionaries to France, A. D. 580—800...Columbanus...His Letter to the Pope...St. Gall in Switzerland. Missionaries to Central Europe, A. D. 680—704...Fridolinus...Furseus...St. Levin...St. Killian...Martyrdom...Fargil, alias Virgilius...Accused of Heresy...Asserted the Sphericity of the Earth.

CHRISTIANITY is essentially benevolent and essentially aggressive. The early Christians always were desirous that all men should obtain like precious faith with themselves.

Soon the infant Church of Ireland, yet warm in its first love, began to look around for new and distant fields to which it might extend the blessings it had received. Its first efforts were directed to the Scoto-Irish colony, which, in the third century, had settled in Argyleshire, North Britain, and to which a large accession had been recently made under the Dalriadic princes. On visiting this colony, the Irish Christians were, for the first time, brought into immediate contact with the Picts, who were then shrouded in the darkest paganism. In the conversion of this nation, they discovered a wide field for missionary labor, and for such a work the Lord soon raised up a leader in the person of Columba.

As the introduction of Christianity into Ireland is included in the life of St. Patrick, so its propagation in the north-west of Europe will be, to a great extent, included in the life of Columba. This eminent missionary, "the Apostle of the

Western Isles," as he is frequently called, was born A. D. 521, in Garten, Donegal, Ireland. His real name was Colum, but from his dove-like appearance in childhood it was soon latinized into Columba, the dove. Having embraced Christianity when very young, and being constantly in attendance at the church, or *ceille*, as the Irish Christians called their place of worship, he was again surnamed, in his native tongue, *Columb na ceille*, or Columbkille, Columb, the dove of the church, or *ceille*.

This innocent and beautiful sobriquet was soon incorporated into his name and followed him, among his own people, through life; but on the continent, and in ecclesiastical history, he is generally known by the name of Columba.

In his day, and after him, there was the pride of ancestry. He was descended from the Nialls, the fathers of Irish kings; his mother's name was Ethena, and she was of the house of Leinster. Previous to his birth, his mother had a dream, which to herself and others seemed to foreshadow the future history and fame of her son. In the dream, she thought "an angel appeared to her, bringing in his hand a veil of wonderful beauty, painted with divers and lovely colors, and having presented it to her, suddenly took it away, and, spreading it out, allowed it to float off through the air. On inquiry why he did so, the angel told her that it was by far too valuable to be left with her; and then she beheld it far away, and widely expanding itself over the distant forests, mountains, and plains."[1]

[1] As the life of Columba was written by an Irishman, in the seventh century, who had never been out of his native island, some might be pleased to see a specimen of his Latin style. For their satisfaction we will transcribe the dream in his own words: "Angelus Domini in somnis genetrici venerabilis viri, quadam nocte inter conceptum et partum apparuit, ei que quasi quoddam miræ pulchritudinis peplum assistens

In early life he was placed in Clonard Abbey, where he was soon noticed for his piety and his aptness for learning, especially for his love of the Holy Scriptures. His love of literature was not the mere love of letters; he loved it because it revealed to him the knowledge of his Saviour. He was deeply pious, and began his ministry very early.

Before he went abroad on his mission, he had traveled extensively at home—over Leinster, Connaught, Meath, and many other places in Ireland—preaching and exhorting all classes, wherever he went, immediately to repent and believe in Christ. In these labors he continued from early manhood till he was forty-three years of age. The venerable Bede records of him the following: "Before Columb came into North Britain, he founded a noble monastery in Ireland, in a place which, from the great plenty of oaks, in the language of the Scots [Irish], was called Dairmach; that is 'the Field of Oaks.'"[1] He also established another Christian school in a place called Doire Galgash, near Loch Foyle, from which the city of Derry derived its name. Columba is better known in history as "the Apostle of the Picts," or of the "Western Isles." Passing over on a religious tour to the Irish colony in Albyn, or North Britain, the chieftains of which were mostly connected with his own princely family,

detulit: in quo veluti universorum decorose florum depicti videbantur; quodque post aliquod breve intervallum, ejus de manibus reposcens abstulit; elevansque et expandens, in aëre dimisit vacuo. Illa vero de illo trisficata sublato, sic ad illum venerandi habitus virum: Cur a me, ait, hoc lætificum tum cito abstrahis pallium? Ille consequenter; Idcirco, inquit, quia hoc sagum alicujus est tam magnifici honoris, quod apud te diutius retinere non poteris His dictis, supra memoratum peplum mulier paulatim a se elongari volando videbat camporumque latitudinem in majus crescendo excedere, montesque et saltus majore sui mensura superare."—*Adomnan's Life of Columba*, lib. III, cap. 1.

[1] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, lib. III, cap. 4.

he was brought, for the first time, into immediate contact with the Picts.

From his first knowledge of them, he resolved to devote the whole of his future life to their conversion, and to the evangelization of the other nations of north-western Europe.

For the accomplishment of this missionary enterprise, about A. D. 563, Columba formed a company of twelve persons, and embarked for Druids' Island, afterward called Iona. Why he should have selected such a place—an island so small, barren, and so far off in the frozen north—for the centre of his labors, is very difficult to conjecture, unless it were that this island was then nearly the last resting place of Druidism against the advances of the new faith.

Like most places of celebrity, this island has had many names. When in possession of the Druids, it was known as *Innis Druidich*, "Druids' Island," and also as the Holy Island. Iona, the name by which it was afterward known, is Gaelic, and is a mere contraction of *Ii-Shona*, which, in Irish, is said to mean literally "the Holy Island." After the death of Columba, whose remains were buried upon it, it became a favorite place of interment, and then it took the name of Ii-Colum-ceille; that is, the Island of Columba's Sepulchre, which has been abbreviated to Icombkille; but the natives, then and since, call it simply *I*, or *Hy*—by way of eminence, *the* island.

Having thus located himself on Iona, with a few attendants, Columba set out to preach the Gospel to the Picts and Highlanders on the north side of the Grampian Hills,[1]

[1] The transfer of the name Scotia from Ireland to Albyn, or North Britain, has produced much confusion; hence most historians have recognized Iona as wholly Scotch; but, recently and more justly, even English and Scotch writers are beginning to acknowledge that "*it was a Christian school of Irish foundation.*"—*Pict. Hist. England*, vol. I, p. 119.

where the name of the Redeemer had never yet been heard. In regard to this mission, the venerable Bede thus records: "Columb arrived in North Britain in the ninth year of Brude, the son of Meilochom, king of the Picts, who was a potent king, and whose subjects were, by his preaching and example, converted to the Christian faith."[1]

The question has been asked, in what language did Columba, whose native tongue was Irish, communicate with Picts? Did they understand Irish, or did he preach to them through an interpreter? The inquiry is important, at least ethnologically, as its solution will cast some light on the disputed origin of the Pictish people. Adomnan, who wrote his life, in the eighth century, says expressly "that Columba preached to the Picts through an interpreter."[2] This circumstance is conclusive that at least some of the inhabitants of the Highlands were not, at that time, of the same stock with the Hibernians, although they were called Caledonians.[3]

At first Columba met with considerable opposition from the Pictish king, particularly through the influence of the Druid priest who had formerly been his preceptor.

But Columba was not to be overcome. He remained there a considerable time without accomplishing his object; but finally, by the force of truth, aided by the sweetness of his spirit, his amiability, and his princely manners, he so completely won over the king that he not only embraced Christianity himself, but immediately became very active in

[1] *Illus. Men of Ireland*, vol. I, p. 119.

[2] —— per interpretorem sancto predicante viro.—*Adomnan's Life of Columba.* Hence the Picts, says Mr. Moore, were not a Celtic people. *Hist. of Ireland*, p. 128.

[3] The authors of the *Pictorial History of England* say that Caledonia is from *Caoill daoin*, which, in Celtic, means literally "the men or the people of the woods," and at first it was not distinctive of any one nation.—Vol. I, p. 40.

spreading it among his people. After this achievement, taking a few missionaries with him, he extended his labors and explorations over the hills and through the glens of that wild and sparsely settled country, bringing to its barbarous inhabitants, for the first time, the humanizing doctrines of the Gospel. God greatly blessed this missionary company in their work; so that the black oaten bread and the wild meat of the natives were eaten with a relish, and even the winters of this hyperborean region became to them comparatively pleasant.

The zeal of these humble missionaries seems to have been equal to the ambition of the Roman soldiers, whose eagles, centuries before, had been borne as far north as the Orcades; for soon Columba and his companions set sail for the Western and the Orkney Islands. His successors are supposed to have gone as far north as Iceland. "We learn from more than one authentic source," says Mr. Moore, "that when the Norwegians, in A. D. 900, first arrived in Iceland, they found there traces of its having been previously inhabited by a Christian people, as the Irish books, bells, and crooked staves, found on it, sufficiently denote the Christian island from which they had been brought."

On his return to Iona and Albyn, Columba, by his superior knowledge and address, greatly assisted his relatives, the Dalriadic princes, in the management of the temporal and political affairs of their colony.

Toward the close of his life his fame seems to have attracted the attention of the Anglo-Saxon princes, who were, at that time, securing a footing in North Britain. Some of these princes, it would seem, had been educated in Iona, where, according to Adomnan, they had become converts to Christianity. St. Austin, and his Italian priests, not yet having reached this part of England, Columba and his companions undertook the conversion of the Saxon

people in North Britain, a work which was afterward nearly accomplished by Aidan and his successors. Even Bede, never very favorable to the Irish, or to the institution of Iona, commends their efforts in reference to the conversion of the Saxons: "The nation of the Scots," he writes, "had taken care willingly, and without envy, to communicate to the English [Saxon] people the knowledge of the true God; even, as on the contrary, the Britons would not acquaint the English with the knowledge of the Christian faith."[1]

The labors of Columba, at this period, were very extensive. From Iona and the Western Isles on the north, he traversed both sides of the Grampian range, among the Picts; thence to the Scoto-Irish colony in Argyleshire; occasionally to Ireland; and most probably he made several visits to the Anglo-Saxons in Northumberland. In all his travels he never forgot "the isle of his heart," as he was wont to call Iona. For this holy island was the seat and centre of all his operations; it was the radiating point from which went forth the spirit and the doctrine that constituted the strength and glory of his power. Here was his first missionary station, or, more properly, his great theological seminary. In it at this time was taught and practiced, perhaps, the purest form of Christianity anywhere then known throughout Europe. From the rude walls and thatched roofs of this institution went forth, during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, some of the best scholars and many of the most devoted and intelligent missionaries of the dark ages. For several centuries this seminary was called, and justly too, "The North-western Star of Christendom."

Neander says: "A great work was done by the Irish

[1] *Bede's Eccl. Hist.*, lib. v, cap. 23. Perhaps these Britons had no faith or hope for the conversion of these Saxons, who were then devastating their country and carrying off their children into slavery.

missionaries in cultivating the land, and founding monasteries, which became the centres of conversion and instruction in providing for the education of the young."[1] Whoever will study the character of this institution, the spirit that animated its inmates, their religious zeal, their love and reverence for the Holy Scriptures, the independence of their thought and action, in connection with the history of the early Scotch reformers, will discover in the latter many traits of a religious and political character that had been prominent and peculiar among the scholars and missionaries of Iona.

Still later, after making due allowance for the space and the advance of a thousand years, the student will see that these Scoto-Irish preachers, of the seventh century, anticipated, in many respects, the zeal and the self-sacrifice so apparent in John Wesley and his noble band of itinerant heroes. A similarity so striking, and, at the same time, separated by a thousand years, can only be accounted for from the fact that these holy men, respectively, had drawn their theology from the same Scriptures, and had imbibed their zeal and evangelical spirit from the same heavenly fountain.

During his last years, Columba's influence was very extensive. He was venerated, not only among his own clergy and brethren, but by kings and chieftains in North Britain, as well as by those in his own native island. For some time he was deservedly regarded as the national saint of Albyn or Scotland, until that honor was strangely conferred upon St. Andrew,[2] one vastly his inferior, both in ability and learning, and who had never done for Scotland, the country that so honored him, even a tithe of what Columba had done for it.

[1] Quoted, p. 116, in *Iona*.

[2] *Pict. Hist. of England*, vol. I, p 218

His last visit to his native island was on an errand of peace, to adjust a great political difference between Aidan, king of the Irish Scots in North Britain, and the Dalriads of Antrim in Ireland. During this visit he went to the Monastery of Derry. After contemplating it for a while, as his practice was, he lifted up his hands, invoked God's blessing upon it, and then returned to Iona, "the isle of his heart."

On reaching Iona, he was very feeble. Having spent a few days in planning for the future usefulness of the institution, for the enlargement of its building, and having written a poetic effusion in regard to its origin and probable celebrity, he was taken ill. Finding that he was drawing near the close of his life, like Moses to Pisgah, he was taken to a little eminence, from which he could behold the extent of the holy settlement. After musing over all that God had wrought for it, and for the missionaries who had gone from it, and having prayed, as was his custom on almost all occasions, he invoked God's blessing upon the institution, and returned.

Reaching his little *ceille*, or cottage, and having rested about an hour, he resumed his favorite and long-accustomed employment, the transcribing of the Holy Scriptures. While writing out a part of the twenty-third Psalm, he became faint, and said to Baithen, one of the twelve who had come with him from Ireland, "you must finish the rest of it;" after which he laid down on his bed of stone. At midnight he rose, as was his general practice, to attend public prayers in the church; having been led to the altar, he fell upon his knees and began to pray. Soon he was discovered to be leaning against the railings, in a dying state. The brotherhood, gathering around him with their lighted torches, began to weep and to crave his last blessing. Recovering for a moment, and feebly opening his eyes, and smiling upon those around him, he attempted to raise his hand to pro-

nounce the blessing, but it immediately fell. He then sank down in death, and breathed his last in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

After lying in state three days and three nights, his venerable remains were interred in Iona, "the isle of his heart," which had now become the isle of his sepulchre. As he had been revered in life, so were his ashes revered in death. According to an ancient precedent, or to a superstitious feeling, thousands afterward said of him, as had been said of the man of God in Old Testament times: "Bury me in the sepulchre [island] where the man of God is buried; lay my bones beside his bones." Hence it was that Iona soon afterward became a hallowed place for interment. During the two succeeding centuries, kings, princes, and church dignitaries, from Scotland, Ireland, France, and North Britain, were buried there; so that the island retains to this day the name of *I-Comb-Kill*, "the island of Columba's sepulchre."[1]

In the ninth century the Danes came to Iona, and lest his bones should fall into the possession of these pagans, they were disinterred and taken to Ireland. After resting there awhile, Kenneth the Second, of Scotland, had them again removed and interred in Dunkeld, where he founded a church, which he dedicated to his memory.

Columba was no ordinary man. He would have been a saint in any age or in any country. Providence seems to have raised him up, and to have fitted him for the very work to which he devoted his long and valuable life. In person he was said to have been very comely—beautiful

[1] Even so late as the time of Shakespeare, allusion is made to the interment of kings in Iona, or Icombkill.

> Where is Duncan's body?
> Carried to Colmes-kill,
> The sacred storehouse of his predecessors,
> And the guardian of their bones.—*Macbeth.*

even to old age. Always neat in his apparel, his manners were princely, more so from nature than from training, and, as his name imports, his disposition was of the most amiable kind. Although for some years he slept upon a bed of stone, and was, no doubt, tinctured with the asceticism that was then sweeping over Western Christendom, there was nothing in him that was morose or morbid; he was never censorious of those who did not conform to his rules of living. His early biographers say that he was remarkably cheerful; that his eyes, always beaming with a peculiar mildness and affection, were sometimes excited almost to hilarity, and that his ruddy cheeks, notwithstanding his frequent fasts, were rather indicative of one who was living in the lap of luxury.

Action was his element. Like John Wesley, he was never idle; he was never triflingly employed; he was ever ready for every good work. When not engaged in study, prayer, or abroad on duty, he was always occupied in transcribing, so as to multiply copies of the Holy Scriptures to lend or to give away.[1] When traveling, he was ever on the lookout for opportunities to do good. If he met a child on the way, he gave it his blessing; if an adult, he inquired of him in regard to his soul. When he entered a house he invoked God's blessing upon it; and sometimes, on entering a barn, and seeing the precious grain spread out upon the floor, he would ask all to stop while he raised his hands to thank God, the bountiful giver of bread.

[1] In the Annals of the Four Masters, for the year A. D. 1006, there is mention made of a copy of the Four Gospels, ornamented with gold, which is said to have been transcribed by Columba's own hand, and that it was at that time in the Monastery at Kells, Ireland. Some have supposed that this manuscript is the same as that now preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Whether correct or not, upon the margin of it, in 1577, were written the words, *Liber autem hic scriptus est, manu ipsius B. Columbæ*, "This book was written by the hand of St. Columba."—*Moore.*

Columba was a great peacemaker; and, as we have seen, he often settled matters of great political importance. Among the rustics he acted as a parent, a counselor, and a judge. He was a powerful preacher, speaking the Irish and the Latin with equal ease, and both with great fluency. His voice was said to have been tender, tremulous, musical, and sufficiently strong to have been distinctly heard at the distance of nearly a quarter of a mile. His soul, too, was in his preaching, and was constantly manifesting itself through his words, tones, and gestures. He was also a man of great prayer; devotion seemed to have been the atmosphere in which he lived; with him everything was sanctified by the word of God and prayer. If he entered a boat, mounted a horse, administered medicine, parted with a friend—in these, and in all other affairs of life—he acknowledged God and invoked his blessing. In the turmoil of traveling, work, business, among heathens, or with believers, he steadfastly adhered to his rule of prayer three times a day.

He was probably one of the most successful missionaries of the sixth century. He not only traveled and preached very extensively himself in foreign countries, but, by the means of the great theological school which he founded, sent out more and better educated ministers to other countries than perhaps any other, or all the other institutions of his day. Odonnellus, playing upon the meaning of his name, justly observed that "from the nest of Columba the sacred doves took their flight in almost every direction."

In the language of a late Protestant writer, "Columba stands before us as one of the great missionaries of the church.[1] He kindled a fire in the northern regions which will never go out; and although there might have been

[1] Yet there are thousands of Protestants, lay and clerical, who scarcely know anything about him. In many notices of missionaries, this one, the most successful of the sixth century, is overlooked.

opinions and usages embraced by him which we could not accept, yet we cannot look back without admiration for the man whose doctrine was so pure, whose conduct was so exemplary, and whose spirit and demeanor were so truly apostolic, especially at a time when the Mystery of Iniquity was advancing so rapidly to maturity."[1] In reading biography, one often finds himself unconsciously drawing parallels between the life he is perusing and that of other similar characters. Columba reminds us of the spirit, the deportment, and the heavenly-mindedness of John William de la Flechere, Vicar of Madely, England.

After concluding the biographical sketch of the Apostle of the Western Isles, we may naturally wish to know something of the subsequent history of Iona. About this little rock in the midst of the ocean, and among its ruins and desolations, which are still traceable, there are yet many pleasing and pensive reminiscences. This little island can never be forgotten. When on it, Dr. Johnson seemed to have inhaled a fresher and higher inspiration. In his Journey to the Western Islands, he thus records his emotions: "We are now treading on the illustrious island which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions. That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer upon the ruins of Iona." The material glory of Iona could never have been great, and what little it had has long since passed away; but its moral renown is imperishable, and its name will descend to the most distant history.

This institution, though generally called a monastery, was, as before stated, properly a theological seminary. Its government was peculiar; rather collegiate than either episcopal or presbyterial. By the settlement of its founder, the abbot

[1] *Dr. Lindsay Alexander's Iona.*

who presided over it *was always to be a presbyter*, and was to be chosen by its inmates. For a long time this religious community in Iona had no particular name or designation apart from any other body of Christians; but about the beginning of the eighth century most of those who went out from it were by others called Culdees, which Celtic scholars assert means simply "servants of God."

On the death of the founder, Baithen, one of the twelve who had come with Columba from Ireland, was chosen his successor. It was said emphatically of him, that he was never idle, and that, in calm and elevated piety, he resembled St. John of Patmos; and further, that, with the exception of Columba, none in the institution knew the Scriptures so well.

After Baithen, there were many and frequently succeeding abbots. Those who were elected to the abbacy came to it late in life; consequently their superintendence was necessarily short.

In A. D. 670, Adomnan, the first biographer of Columba, was chosen to preside. During his rule several new and important innovations were made, and among them the one in regard to Easter Sunday. Although the observance of these innovations was optional, and was little regarded, yet the favor they had received was a matter of annoyance to a majority of those in Iona. Their mere reception was considered a triumph of the Romanizing party, and the beginning of that which would lead to a change of the creed and of the government of the institution.

About fifty years afterward, A. D. 720, the innovators became sufficiently strong to induce Nectan, the Pictish king, to favor their views, and, accordingly, the whole of the transalpine usages were introduced and authoritatively imposed upon the entire community. These measures were, however, stoutly resisted. Foalchuo, the incumbent, immediately

resigned his charge, and the king, contrary to the constitution of the monastery, appointed Duncan in his place. On the death of the latter, which soon occurred, Foalchuo attempted to assume the position he had resigned, but Nectan banished him and his followers beyond the Grampian Hills, where he died in poverty.

Then, in A. D. 736, by royal authority, Egbert, a Saxon priest, was inducted into the abbacy, being the first of that nation and the first foreigner that had ever presided over Iona. With him came in the entire Roman regime.

During these acts of regal and popish interference, learning declined, experimental religion degenerated into formalism, and that holy zeal for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom which, for centuries before, had been sending out missionaries, was now rapidly verging toward apathy. It is here worthy of remark, that Iona had never been so prosperous at home as when she was sending out her best scholars and preachers on missions to other countries. While benefiting others, she was graciously blest herself; the pulsations issuing from the heart were more than sustained in their strength; the blood, thus renewed and invigorated, came back to the surface with new health and life.

Afflictions seldom come singly. In addition to the disturbing influences which had already fallen upon Iona from the introduction of new rites and opinions, it was now called upon to pass through a series of material calamities which ended in its total destruction. The Danes, or Northmen, who had been some years before devastating Western Europe, in A. D. 794 made their first descent upon its shores. In a few years they came again, and, in A. D. 806, laid waste the whole island by fire and sword, which is thus graphically described by Campbell, in his beautiful poem of Reullura:

"The sun, now about to set,
Was burning o'er Tiree,
And no gathering cry rose yet
O'er the isles of Albyn's sea.

"And the shield of alarm was dumb, [1]
Nor did their warning till midnight come,
When watchfires burst across the main
From Rona, and Uist and Skye
To tell that the ships of the Dane,
And the red-haired slayers were nigh.

"Our isle-men rose from slumbers,
And buckled on their arms:
But few, alas! were their numbers
In Lochlin's mailed swarms;
And the blade of the bloody Norse
Has filled the shores of the Gael
With many a floating corse,
And many a woman's wail.

"They have lighted the islands with ruin's torch,
And the holy men of Iona's Church
In the temple of God lay slain,"

Few nations are better than their laws or their gods; but these Baltic murderers could not be worse than either of theirs. Their laws allowed piracy and robbery, and their gods were believed to witness with ecstacies the flames that consumed the victims in their own dwellings.

In A. D. 829, the Norsemen made another irruption upon the island, when Dermid, the Abbot of Iona, disinterred the bones of Columba, and, voyaging about for nearly a whole year to escape the sea-robbers, landed them at last in Ireland. From this period everything went to decay, and papal despotism had unlimited control. With the decline of

[1] The Celts struck the shield to alarm, as we beat the drum.

pure religion, learning fled, ignorance and wretchedness came in, and the "little star of purest ray," as Iona had been called, went out in darkness.

Seven hundred years afterward, when the island came under the rule of Protestantism, its state is thus described by Keith, the Scotch historian: "George Knox, Bishop and Abbot of Icombkille, entreated the chief of Iona, on account of the 'grite miserie' to persuade the people to profess the 'treu religion and onlie and unduted treuth of God,' and to send their eldest sons to the lowlands until they could speak and write English." But Knox could not excite an interest for learning, and so the people remained for two centuries afterward.

A traveler of the present century gives the following description of the ruins of Iona: "The ruined edifices which we saw were evidently built at different periods, most probably between the sixth and eleventh centuries. The remains of these edifices are blocks of fine sienite, crosses and sepulchral monuments. Some of these blocks are five or six feet long. The remaining church was built in the form of a cross, one hundred and sixty-four feet long and thirty-four broad. The pillars are carved with a variety of fanciful and ludicrous representations, mostly from scriptural history. Among the rest, there is an angel weighing souls, and the devil, near the scales, is seen, with a sly, malicious grin, having his paw upon one of the scales to keep it down. South of the church is the principal burying-ground, containing a great variety of tombs, but so overgrown with weeds as to render only a few of the inscriptions legible. Within this inclosure, it is said, there lie the remains of forty-eight Scottish kings or chieftains, four kings from Ireland, and one from France."[1] Thus this renowned institution went down:

[1] *Illus. Men of Ireland*, vol. I, p. 121, Dublin, 1839.

"But, Aodh,[1] the roof lies low,
And the thistle-down waves bleaching,
And the bat flits to and fro
Where the Gael once heard thy preaching."

In connection with Iona, there must be at least a passing notice of the Culdees.

Dr. Lindsay Alexander, the Scottish antiquarian, says that the name is derived from the Celtic or Irish *ceille*, a servant, and *Dee* or *Dia*, God, contracted, by a close pronunciation, into Culdee. The appellation of Culdee, at first, was not particularly distinctive; it was given to any one wholly devoted to God. Ultimately, however, about the eighth century, it became specific, and was applied to the ministers who came from Iona, and their successors chiefly in North Britain.

The venerable Bede, alluding to the successors of Columba, as he called the Culdees, while reprimanding them, because they did not conform to the "canonical practices of the church," still allows "that they were distinguished by great continence, divine love, and a regular institute" [methodical manner of living]. And further, in regard to their doctrine, he says: "They diligently observed only such works of piety and charity as they could learn from the writings of the prophets, the evangelists, and apostles."[2] It is true that Bede does not mention the Culdees by that name, for it is most probable that they were not then thus designated; but, by the "successors of Columba," he must certainly have referred to those who were afterward denominated Culdees. Bearing the two names, they were identical in time, origin, manners, and general character.

[1] The name for the Culdee; and said to be the Irish for "Hugh."

[2] *Bede's Eccl. Hist.*, lib. III, cap. 25, and other authorities in *Jamieson's History of the Culdees*, pp. 30, 32, and *Pict. Hist. of England*, vol. I, p. 218.

But whether they were called Culdees, Columban monks, or successors of Columba, is unimportant, as all historians allow that they were a peculiar body of Christian ministers, who were steadily opposed by the Church of Rome, and whose manner of preaching and mode of living were in most respects contrary to the priests of that church. Among the most prominent points preferred against them by Bede and others, were their devotedness exclusively to the authority of the Holy Scriptures; their rejection of tradition and of many Romish ceremonies; the nakedness of their forms of worship, and the republican character of their ecclesiastical government.[1]

MISSIONARIES IN NORTH BRITAIN, A. D. 633—750.

AIDAN. Born A. D. 605. During the reign, or rather the devastations of Penda the Terrible, and the last of the pagan kings of Northumberland, the infant churches of that country were wholly swept away. All who professed Christianity were either murdered, driven to apostacy, or forced into exile. Among the latter was Oswald, nephew to Penda, who afterward became the king. He fled, with many others, to Ireland.

In his long sojourn in that country he was kindly treated, and there he became a Christian. Afterward he went to Iona, where he passed several years in study. Within the rude and peaceful walls of that institution, and while among its loving and simple-hearted inmates, the King of Northumberland received a good literary and religious education. On his return and elevation to power, one of his first meas-

[1] *Turgot's Life of Margaret*, as quoted in *Pictorial History of England*, vol. I, p. 238. It is to these debates that we owe the little we know of the Culdees.

ures to benefit his country was to send for Christian shepherds to gather the flocks that had been driven away or scattered. Several years before, Paulinus, the timid and elegant Italian bishop, and nearly all the Roman clergy with him, had fled on the approach of persecution to the balmy and more peaceful counties of southern England, leaving the sheep to Penda and his hordes, who were the most terrible wolves of that terrible period.

On the reception of this royal request, a meeting of the fraternity was called in Iona, to confer in regard to the new mission. During the discussion in the asssembly, some one descanted rather freely on the stupidity of the Saxons to receive or to understand religious instruction. Instantly a rebuke was heard in the meeting: "Ah, brother, you have forgotten the words of the apostle, 'Give milk to babes and meat to men.'" Immediately all eyes were turned to Aidan, and forthwith, by acclamation, he was appointed to the mission, and sent off to the Court of Oswald. Nor were the brethren in Iona disappointed in their choice He was soon found to be the right man in the right place; his energy, prudence, education, and untiring activity, carried him, in all things, beyond even their most sanguine expectations. Aidan was born in Ireland, but had been educated in Iona. On reaching the field of his labor, he at once applied himself to his work, preaching on all occasions, and traveling on foot through the rural districts; never riding unless the distance was great or the call was urgent. Although he knew little of the language, or, at least, spoke the Saxon very imperfectly, yet he was continually urging immediate repentance and conversion upon every one whom he met. The venerable Bede says of Aidan and his fellow-laborers: "What, above everything else that recommended his doctrine, was that he and his disciples lived in no other way than they taught." The same author, in another place, adds, "that

his daily practice, and all who followed him, was to occupy themselves in reading the Scriptures and learning the psalms wherever they went."[1]

At first Aidan could not preach in Saxon, but the good King Oswald, who during his exile had thoroughly learned the Irish, was able and more than willing to become his interpreter. "What a delightful spectacle," says Bede, "the bishop preaching in Scotic [Irish] language, and the king interpreting the heavenly word."[2] "Soon afterward," adds the same authority, "Aidan was greatly assisted by a great number of Scots, who poured into Britain, preaching the word of God with power and devotion, and administering baptism throughout the province of the king."[3] Thus, under the joint labors of the missionaries and the king, religion revived, schools were established, and the whole country began to recover from the devastation of Penda. This second introduction of Christianity into North Britain, by Aidan and his successors, was more readily received than the first; and was perhaps more scriptural and evangelical. Scotland owes almost everything to these holy

[1] *Eccl. Hist.*, lib. III, cap. 6. The venerable Bede, whom we shall often quote in this chapter, is good authority. 1. He was the Romish church historian, and never spoke well of the Irish Church. 2. He lived in Durham, England, and was cotemporary with most of the events he records. 3. He incidentally asserts that the Papal Church of England would not allow the validity of the Irish ordination. 4. Nor the sanctity of their churches, requiring them to be sprinkled with exorcised water. 5. That the Irish did not prefix "saint" to the apostles or the evangelists, nor did they name their churches after any of the saints.

[2] *Eccl. History*, lib. III, cap. 6. Ubi pulcherrima seape spectaculo contigit.

[3] And again, Exinde cœpere plures per dies de Scotorum regione venire Britanniam. Those whom Bede calls "Scots," Fleury calls "*Missionaires Irlandois*," Irish missionaries. Ireland at that time was generally called Scotland.

men from Iona and Ireland, for, in after times, though the country was at least nominally Romanized, the people never fully lost the spirit or yielded the principles which they had received from these holy men. The Scoto-Irish missionaries of the seventh century really laid the foundation for the future literature and evangelism of Scotland.

In a few years, Oswald, the king, gave Aidan the bleak island of Lindisfarne, afterward called "The Holy Island," on which to erect a monastery. This monastery, and many others in different parts of the kingdom, were planned in perfect imitation of the model one in Iona. Bede, in further writing about these missionaries, whom he calls "successors of Columba," gives us some insight into the ecclesiastical affairs of that country in the seventh century. He says "that they never went into the towns, except for religious purposes, such as preaching, baptizing, visiting the sick; in short, for the taking care of souls."[1] In another place, he thus contrasts the remissness of the Roman clergy in England with those devoted missionaries from Iona and Ireland: "His life [Aidan's] was so widely different from the sloth and negligence of our own times, that all who traveled with him, whether shorn or laymen, when not engaged in public duties, were required diligently to occupy themselves in reading of the Scriptures, and also of the psalms."[2]

Aidan appears to have been not only a leader, but a model for all the rest. The same writer adds: "He was wont to travel the whole country, urban and rural, not on horseback, but on foot; and that whenever he observed any one at hand, whether they were rich or poor, he made straight for them; and if they were unbelievers, he would invite them to the faith; and if they were believers, to be zealous in charity and holiness." The people, also, everywhere appreciated these labors, for whenever any of them came into a

[1] *Ecclesiastical History*, lib. III, cap. 6. [2] *Ibidem.*

village, "the inhabitants solicited from them the word of life"[1]—a request which at that time seems to have been deemed extraordinary, and was not solicited from any other class of preachers.

This description of these missionaries from Iona and Ireland, by an Anglo-Saxon author of the eighth century, is not only instructive but authoritative. It gives us, also, a refreshing view of the efficiency and the self-sacrifice of a body of ministers at a time when so many of the clergy of other countries were rapidly tending to remissness and self-indulgence. These Scoto-Irish preachers, drawing their religion from the same heavenly source, really seem to have anticipated by a thousand years the Puritans and the early Methodists, both in the fervor of their spirit and the manner of their preaching.[2] Aidan was the abbot of Lindisfarne and the superintendent of Northumberland for seventeen years. He wrote little, for, like most pioneer missionaries, his life was spent in out-door labor and traveling.

FINNAN. Died A. D. 661. For some time after the re-establishment of Christianity in North Britain, Iona and Ireland furnished for that country the largest number and the most eminent of her religious teachers. Three natives of Ireland had been successively appointed, by the Anglo-Saxon princes, to the Abbacy of Lindisfarne. After the death of Aidan, Finnan was called to it by Oswin, the king. He superintended this, and the other churches of the king-

[1] *Ecclesiastical History*, lib. III, cap. 26.

[2] English writers, whether in general literature or in ecclesiastical history, have never acknowledged a tithe of the labors and sacrifices of the above devoted men, who were, as Bede himself allows, "the instructors of the Anglo-Saxons [of North Britain], both old and young, in the knowledge of the true God, and were also the founders of most of the churches in that part of Great Britain.—*Ecclesiastical History*, lib. III, cap. 27.

dom, under the simple title of bishop; for in those days the grade of archbishop or primate was unknown among the Irish, at home or abroad. Archbishop Ussher asserts, "that neither the name nor the office of archbishop was heard of in Ireland until the eleventh century."

Bede says, "that Finnan was a man of fierce and rough nature; but he was very successful in his ministerial labors. He not only converted and baptized Peada, king of the Middle Angles, together with most of his court, but he sent four priests to instruct his subjects in Christianity."[1] He also consecrated Cead, or Ceadmon, who afterward became a prominent bishop among the East Angles, and baptized Sigebert, their king, together with a great number of the common people. He appears to have been very active in promoting the material as well as the spiritual interests of the church. During his superintendence, the above author says "he erected a church in the island of Lindisfarne, fit for an episcopal see, which nevertheless he built after the manner of the Scots [Irish], not of stone but of sawn oak, and covered with thatch."[2]

Years afterward, when the British clergy had taken possession of these churches, Archbishop Theodore, whom the Pope had placed over all the churches in England and North Britain, required that this church at Lindisfarne should be reconsecrated, and dedicated to the honor or patronage of St. Peter.

Here again, and at almost every step, we discover instances of the dissimilarity that then existed between the Church of Rome and that of Ireland. This church had been built by the Irish missionaries, and in it they had faithfully and successfully preached the Gospel for more than fifty years. Now, upon the transfer of the occupancy to the Papal Church of England, it was considered as an

[1] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, lib. III, cap. 25. [2] *Ibidem.*

unsanctified place, and was most probably subjected to the ceremonial sprinkling of exorcised water, as we know that several other churches were, at this time, in North Britain.

COLMAN. Died A. D. 676. Colman was among the last of the Irish bishops or superintendents in North Britain. Under this humble title, without any third or diocesan ordination, for many years he exercised the office of general superintendent. Bede, the Roman Catholic historian, speaks of it as very strange, "that a man who was merely a presbyter, should govern a diocese and have bishops under him." The truth was, these Irish missionaries, or Culdees, did not then consider the bishop as of a different order from the presbyter. When the latter was placed over a congregation, he was then the bishop of that church or congregation. Under the supervision of Colman and his predecessors, the churches of North Britain had enjoyed for about seventy years great temporal and spiritual prosperity. But about A. D. 670, the Anglo-Saxon bishops, who had deserted them on the persecution of Penda, wished to return and possess them. But the two churches could not agree. There were many and great differences between them, one only of which we have now space to present.

Among the prominent differences at this juncture, was that concerning the keeping of Easter. Colman, with all the Irish clergy and those who had come from Iona, had taught and observed the oriental time of keeping it; while the Saxons and the Italians, recently arrived from England, taught the people to observe the festival according to the appointment of Rome. The difference in time at this period was about one month, which made great confusion; for while Malcolm and his clergy were enjoying the paschal festivities, his Saxon queen and her clergy were fasting in lent.

Margaret, the queen, recently from papal England, was

shocked to find such a difference in the doctrine and worship of the two churches.

Accordingly, she assembled the Scoto-Irish clergy, and for three days discussed the whole matter with them in person. Still matters were not at rest. An umpire was wanted. The Pope could not be admitted, for Honorius, Bishop of Rome, had given his judgment four hundred years before, but the Irish would not follow it. King Oswin then commanded the whole to be argued before himself and Alchfrid, his son and his heir. The debate, according to Mr. Moore, was held in a nunnery (rather an unusual place), over which Hilda, a very distinguished abbess, presided, and who, with her entire community, favored the Irish, or the old side of the question.[1] The debate was in Anglo-Saxon and Irish, the venerable Ceada, Bishop of the East Angles, acting as interpreter.[2] The decision of the king, and a majority of the assembly, was in favor of Wilfrid and the Roman See. In this connection, the venerable Bede presents us with a very important and remarkable declaration of Colman, when before the king and the council. "Our Easter," said he, "I have kept as I received it from my elders who sent me here, beloved men who observed it in same manner as their forefathers, and as it is recorded to have been observed by 'the beloved disciple of our Lord.'"[3]

[1] This case is supposed to present another evidence that the Christian schools which were afterward called nunneries and monasteries, were not fully such at that period; for a body of ministers and laymen would not have been admitted into them. This nunnery seems to have partaken more of the character of a female school or academy than of a modern nunnery.

[2] Ceada is claimed by the Hibernians as their countryman. If he was not, it is not known where he had acquired their language. He was a poet, and the first who wrote Saxon verses. In regard to this debate, see chapter IV.

[3] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History,* lib. III, cap. 26. Here, as in many

On the rendition of this decision, Colman, silenced but not convinced, at once gave up his charge, and, with thirty English and all his own countrymen, immediately returned to Ireland.

In this brief historical sketch of these Irish missionaries in North Britain, there is much that is suggestive and instructive. Here we find two branches of the church brought in contact, for the first time, on the same ground. Their ministers had been trained in widely separated countries: the one, in Rome, where changes had been progressing for centuries; the other, in Ireland, the extreme west, where isolation and poverty presented no inducements to change. These two churches were so dissimilar in doctrines, usages, ceremonies, and in other matters, that they could not worship together or fellowship each other. Now whence arose this dissimilarity? The Roman Catholics assert that the Church of Ireland had once been in harmony with that of Rome, but had fallen into heresies. For this declaration, however, there is not the least proof; nor is there any evidence that Rome had ever introduced Christianity into Ireland, from which it could have fallen back. Incidental testimony is continually appearing, that its origin was from another quarter.

While Columbanus, in his letter to the Pope, charges Rome with departing from the faith of the apostles, he, at the same moment, boasts that Ireland had always kept the *Fides Catholica inconcussa*, without wavering, just as they had received it at the beginning.

other places, we find intimations that the Irish Primitive Church had an Eastern origin. Colman traced the observance of their Easter to the Apostle John; and Godwin, in his *Ancient Gaul*, p. 130, says, Pothinus, who had prayed with Polycarp, the beloved companion of the beloved disciple John, was the first who introduced Christianity into Gaul.

IRISH MISSIONARIES IN FRANCE, A. D. 580—800.

COLUMBANUS. Born in Ireland A. D. 559; died A. D. 615. In early maturity he was said to have been remarkably comely; and the world opened to him with more than its ordinary attractions. From birth, talents, position in society, and great wealth for that period, he was strongly inclined to a life of gayety and pleasure. For some time his decision between such a life and the service of God hung in fearful and trembling suspense. There seems to be a turning-point in every one's life. This was his; but grace triumphed, and he chose the better part. Having decided to take God for his portion, with his characteristic energy and promptness, he consecrated himself wholly to God, and entered Banchor Seminary, or monastery, to fit himself for some foreign work. Here he remained several years, and, by prayer, study, and self-denial, trained himself for the severe, various, and often humiliating duties of a foreign missionary. It would seem that an education at this time in these institutions was not a mere knowledge of letters, but rather a vigorous training of the whole man, morally and physically, as well as mentally, for the peculiar labors to which the student in after life purposed to devote himself. In looking around for a field of future labor, the condition of the Gauls first arrested the attention of Columbanus, as that of a people for whom he might do the greatest amount of good. Many parts of it, at that time, were in a most deplorable condition; for, by the frequent irruptions of the northern hordes, almost every vestige of Christianity had been swept away. Large sections of that beautiful country were then in the possession of swarms of rough, roving barbarians. There were no missionary societies in those days. The projection of a mission was generally the conception of an

individual, and its establishment and sustenance the work of his own hands, or of those whom he could associate with him.

Selecting his companions mainly from Banchor, he chose twelve brethren, good and true, among whom was Gallus, afterward St. Gall. With these he set out for the continent, and finally settled in Upper Burgundy, in the neighborhood of the Alps. At this time the inhabitants of that region were the wildest, the poorest, and the most ignorant of all the Franks. The land, wrested from the original owners, was mainly portioned among the military invaders, and the government, such as it was, administered by illiterate heathens. Here, then, was a fit place for a missionary; and Columbanus and his associates soon proved themselves to have been the men for that place.

The site of his camp, or monastery, was wild and sequestered, in the dense forest, at the foot of the Vosges mountains. Here the fraternity built for themselves twelve huts, began to till the ground, and preach to all who came. The object and character of the missionary monasteries, of which frequent mention will be made in these sketches, were vastly different from those of a later period, whose inmates wasted away a monotonous and useless life in idleness and beggary. They were rather missionary stations, at which were taught religion, letters, and general industry. These holy men placed themselves in the midst of the heathen, not to be ministered unto, but to minister; to give their services, and, if called to it, even their lives, for the temporal and eternal good of the people.

The routine of their daily occupation seems to have been divided into three parts. In their huts or cabins, it consisted in reading, praying, and transcribing copies of the Holy Scriptures and other good books; on their gardens or farms, in cultivating the ground for their own support and that of the poor; and when abroad, in visiting the people of the

surrounding country, inviting them to come to their place of worship, and urging upon all the immediate reception of Christianity. In such a round of activity, there was no time for dullness, nor even a desire to return again to the green fields of old Erin. With them

> "There was no melancholy void;
> No moments lingered unemployed,
> Or unimproved."

Their fame soon went abroad over the open plains and along the mountainous slopes of Burgundy. Their disinterestedness, the sanctity of their lives, and the eloquence of their chief, drew crowds of all ranks and conditions, especially the youth of the country, to see and hear what they could in regard to the new fraternity. Among the latter, though yet semi-barbarous, were many who, in maturity, became the rulers of beautiful France. At first the multitude did not appear to comprehend the motive or the object of these strangers. They seem to have had no idea of Christian benevolence, and were looking for the development of something ulterior. Such disinterestedness could not long remain fruitless. It arrested general attention, particularly the favor of the daughters of the chieftains, who seem to have inferred that must be the true religion which inculcated such heavenly virtues.

Soon a congregation was collected, and, in a few years, a village sprang up around the monastery, the inhabitants of which enabled Columbanus to enlarge and multiply his buildings, and also to extend the limits of his cultivated grounds. Here he continued about twenty years, exerting the most benign influence among the people generally, and, through the wives and daughters of the dukes and other principal men, upon the government of the country, moulding and Christianizing it.

Having succeeded so well near the mountains, he established another mission in Luxeuil. Not long afterward, by the gifts of some military chieftains, he commenced a third one at Fontaines, "the Springs," which soon became a place of general and fashionable resort. Thousands from distant parts of the country flocked to it, and the sphere of his usefulness was greatly enlarged.

But the summer sea was at length ruffled. The integrity and straightforwardness of Columbanus and his fraternity in rebuking sin, in high and low life, had for a long time given offence to many of the ruling classes. His great and extended popularity had thus far kept their resentment in check. At last, however, the tempest burst forth.

Four illegitimate children of Thierry, or Theuderik, king of Burgundy, were maliciously and ostentatiously presented to Columbanus that he might give them his blessing; but, instead of giving it, lest it might countenance the prevalent sin of concubinage, he exclaimed: "These children are the offspring of sin; God's blessing is not upon them, and they will never reign." This declaration at once aroused the prince, and especially the wrath of the fierce and vindictive Breunehaut, or Brunahilda, who immediately devised plans to break up his establishment. At first the royal patronage was withdrawn; to which loss Columbanus and his associates yielded submissively, and rejoiced in the approbation of a good conscience. Then several vexatious orders were issued, and finally one was sent to enter the monastery and interfere with some of its sacred offices. This last measure was stoutly and firmly resisted by all the brotherhood. The king then ordered the suppression of the entire monastery. When the soldiers arrived, with an intrepidity worthy of St. Ambrose of Milan, Columbanus met Thierry and his steel-clad minions at the gate, and exclaimed, "Do not disturb the servants of God! If you do, your kingdom will be de-

stroyed, together with your royal race." To which the king replied: "I perceive you want the crown of martyrdom. I will not give it to you. But your teaching is not suitable to this place; you must return to the country from whence you came."[1]

The soldiers then broke into the monastery, and dragged the saint from the cell to which he had retired. The brotherhood, true and loyal, expressed a willingness to die, to go to prison, or to the ends of the earth with him. But he advised them to go on preaching and teaching; to seek some other place, wherever the providence of God might direct them. A guard was then put over him, and he was taken to Nantes, to be sent back to Ireland. An accident prevented the ship from sailing, and before it was ready political events transpired which not only wrested him from the grasp of Thierry, but actually led to the verification of his warning, that "his children should not reign."

Being again at liberty, Columbanus visited the courts of Clotaire and Theodobert, at both of which he was very favorably received, although he visited them not as a courtier but as a reformer. After having presented the claims of the Gospel to kings and courtiers, he spent several years in missionary labors in various parts of Germany and France. Of these labors Mosheim writes: "Columban, an Irish monk, seconded by the labors of a few companions, had happily extirpated the ancient superstition in Gaul, and the parts adjacent, where idolatry had taken the deepest root. He also carried the lamp of celestial truth among the Suevi, the Boii, the Franks, and other German nations."[2]

[1] *Moore's History of Ireland*, p. 261. Previous to this, at a royal festival, Columbanus allowed his indignation to arise to such an extent, that when he was presented with a vessel of wine, he dashed it to pieces on the floor, because it had been touched by the hand of an adulterer.—*Godwin's Ancient Gaul*, p. 338.

[2] *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. I, p. 441.

Hearing of the plots of Brunahilda, he withdrew to Italy, and waited in Milan until the Lord should open for him some other field of labor. Here, again, he found himself environed with new and severe trials. Holding to the doctrine of the Irish Church in regard to Easter and the Three Chapters, he learned with sorrow and alarm that the Fifth General Council had just condemned these views, and that throughout Italy, at least, their avowal was prohibited under severe penalties. He found, however, a protector in Theodolinda, the pious queen of the Lombards, who partially sympathized with him in regard to the paschal question, and wholly agreed with him in the doctrine of the Three Chapters.

Columbanus, who had always avowed his opinions wherever he went, and who had been so recently battling for the truth in France, could not at this time remain silent in Italy. He accordingly addressed an independent and unceremonious letter to the Pope, Boniface III, who was among the highest of the high churchmen of his day, and was the first who claimed for the Roman See the title of universal bishop. In this letter the Hibernian ecclesiastic confuted his opponents, and not only protested against the doctrines and the recent decisions of the Fifth Council, but charged them with departing from "the faith of the successors of the apostles."[1]

He then proceeded to contrast the churches of Rome and Ireland. In the former, he said, there had been many disputes and dissensions; but, on the contrary, he assured the Pope and the Council, that in Ireland "there never had been a heretic, nor a Jew, nor a schismatic, but that the Catholic faith, as it had been at the first delivered to them, they still held [*inconcussa*] without wavering."

At last, however, worn down with labors, controversies, persecutions, and extensive traveling through France, Germany, and other countries, and having received permission

[1] *Moore's History of Ireland*, p. 136.

from Agiluph, king of Lombardy, he retired to Bobbio, a sequestered spot in the Appenine mountains. Here he founded another and his last monastery, in which he passed the rest of his days as quietly as his intensely active mind would allow him. Here he prematurely died in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

Columbanus was one of those men who could not pass easily through the world. He was constantly coming in contact with something that was wrong. His integrity and straightforwardness were always bringing him in conflict with some of the sinuosities of sin; and in this warfare he always aimed high, directing his polished shafts against the most conspicuous sinners. Hence, the objects of his severest rebukes were mostly kings, queens, princes, popes, and spiritual wickedness in high places; but to the poor, even in their errors, he was said to have been the very embodiment of meekness and forbearance.[1]

Mr. Moore, in his History of Ireland, thus presents his literary character: "From a passage in his letter to Boniface, it appears that he was well acquainted with both the Greek and the Hebrew languages. When it is recollected

[1] By nature he was a poet. His Irish biographers are supposed to allude to him in boyhood, sitting on the banks of the beautiful Lake Kie, surrounded by his associates, while the players on the harp, according to an ancient custom, were modulating the sound of the instrument to the sense of the verse. This art of corresponding the sound to the sense seems to have been long practiced by the ancient Irish, and is said to have been carried to an astonishing degree of perfection. Remotely, nearly all the songs and chants of the Irish were accompanied by instruments of music; always, as above, adapting the sound to the sense, and which is said to have produced upon the masses of that day the most thrilling effects. Whether Macpherson fabricated or translated the poems presented in his Ossian, those who understand the Irish say that the scraps of poetry which Columbanus left partake very largely both of their spirit and measure.

that he did not leave Ireland till he was forty years of age, and that his life afterward was one of continual activity and adventure, the conclusion is obvious, that all his knowledge of elegant literature must have been acquired in the schools of his own country. Such a result, from a purely Irish education in the sixth century, is, it must be owned, not a little remarkable."[1] In another place, the same author says: "The few poems acknowledged to be his, though not admissible to the honors of the classic age, yet they shine out in this twilight period of Latin literature with no ordinary distinction."

Although Columbanus is almost wholly overlooked in English literature and by English missionaries, yet he is not thus slighted by the French literati. The authors of the Literary History of France are even extravagant in his praise. They say "that the light which he diffused by his erudition and by his teaching, wherever he went, is compared, by a writer of that age, to the sun in his course from east to west."[2]

ST. GALL, or GALLUS. Died about A. D. 665. St. Gall was closely identified with Columbanus in age, country, travels, purposes, and in persecutions. At first he was his pupil, then his companion, and, in all matters of a temporal nature, he is said to have been his "right hand." It is supposed that he became acquainted with Columbanus at the Monastery of Banchor, and that, in company with him and several others, he set out on his European mission. He accompanied

[1] *History of Ireland*, p. 136.

[2] La lumière que S. Columban repandit, par son sçavoir et sa doctrine, dans tous les lieux, où il se montra, la fait comparer, par un ecrivain du meme siècle, du soleil dans sa course de l'orient à l'occident.—*Hist. Litt. de la France*, tome IV. They further add, that after his decease, "the same brilliancy shone forth from among his disciples."

him to Burgundy, shared with him his persecutions, and, when his monastery was broken up, while the abbot went to Italy, St. Gall stopped in Switzerland, where he spent the rest of his days.[1]

The district which St. Gall and his fellow-laborers selected in Switzerland was in the mountainous parts of the Gressons, and was then still more rugged and heathenish than the one in which they had settled on the French slope of the Alps. The fraternity, in this enterprise, were fired with a holy zeal that no difficulties could arrest, and no privation or fear of bodily suffering could extinguish. In their new location among the Gressons, they were at first violently opposed by these mountainers, who knew not their own mercies, nor the benefits of the religion and civilization which these holy men were urging upon them.

The missionaries, braving all opposition, went immediately to work, and with their own hands cleared a place in the woods, built their cabins, and sowed their grain, that they might live independently upon its precious fruits. These settlements were not missionary stations only; they were also literary establishments, instituted by individual enterprise, unaided and uncontrolled by kings, bishops, or ecclesiastical supervision of any kind. By patient continuance in

[1] It is not a little remarkable that so many of the Irish missionaries, among whom were some of the best scholars of their age, and who were otherwise well qualified to shine in the first metropolitan churches on the continent, should have chosen for their fields of labor some of the roughest, wildest, and most unpromising parts of all Europe. This self-sacrifice can only be accounted for from their love of Christ and the souls of men, mixed, no doubt, with the spirit of asceticism and a desire of martyrdom, which at that time were sweeping over all Christendom. The chivalry of the seventh and eighth centuries was then in the church, particularly among her missionaries; and the pens of the epic writers of that period were mostly employed in narrating the exploits and achievements of these Christian heroes.

preaching, praying, visiting from house to house, and by showing the people how they ought to live, labor, and please God, they at last gained their confidence, and in a few years the surrounding country woke up to the blessings which these strangers had brought to them. A little village sprang up around their monastery, which became a centre of light and love, the radiations from which soon shone to other and distant points in the Alps. The lonely glens and valleys of these mountains, which before had heard only the howls of wild beasts or the curses of wilder men, became now reverberant with the songs of thanksgiving and praise.

For some cause not recorded, probably similar to that which had before driven them away from France, this prosperous establishment fell also under the displeasure of those in power. A hostile descent was made upon it, in which two of these missionaries were killed, and the rest were driven away. The names of the killed are not given, but, according to the estimation of that period, they received the crown of martyrdom; although, like thousands before and after them in the cause of civil and religious liberty,

> "Their ashes lie,
> No marble tells us where; with their names,
> No bard embalms nor sanctifies his song."

Being now far advanced in life, impoverished, stripped of all his earthly goods, and having outlived or separated himself from all that he had ever loved or known before, and no doubt influenced in part by the mania of monachism which was then prevailing over the entire church, St. Gall resolved to retire still farther into the wilderness. He did so, going literally among the wild beasts that then inhabited the dens and caverns of the Switzerland mountains. Here, on the banks of the brook Stinace, a little irregular stream that ran into the lake Constance, he built himself a hut. He had

served God and the church in his younger days; he was now too old and too feeble to begin a new establishment. In this desert he resolved to spend the rest of his life, praying, fasting, reading, writing, and in self-denial.

But even in this remote seclusion, he could not be forgotten. Those who had once known him continued their love and reverence for him. Many came to see him, and brought with them something for his immediate wants, happy, in return, if they could only hear his instruction and receive his blessing. How long he lived here is not known. Some years, however, before his decease, on the death of a successor to Columbanus, the brotherhood at Luxeuil, who knew him well, sent a deputation of six of their monastery to entreat him to become their abbot. This kind and honorable invitation he positively declined, desiring, he said, the silence and the loneliness of the wilderness, as more favorable to thought and heavenly contemplation.

Once only he was induced to leave his retreat and appear in public. When the bishopric of Constance had become vacant by the death of its incumbent, he was urged to attend and assist in the election of a new bishop. In coming once more into the assembly among his brethren, the whole council of bishops and abbots simultaneously rose and greeted him in the most affectionate manner. In the selection of a new incumbent, in accordance with an agreement among themselves, and, as they said, "on account of the good testimony which he had borne before all men," and "for his great knowledge of the Scriptures, they had selected him for their bishop." To this proposal he peremptorily declined to accede, and no consideration could induce him to accept it. On his recommendation, John, a deacon, of whom nothing more is known, was immediately chosen, and consecrated Bishop of Constance. Shortly after this visit he was seized with his last illness, and died October, A. D. 665, in the ninety-fifth year of his age.

During his long residence in Switzerland and on the borders of Germany, he had educated a great number of young men, most of whom afterward entered the ministry. On this account—the supplying of these countries with so many scholars and preachers of the Gospel—he was afterward awarded the honorable title of "The Apostle of the Allemanian Nations." About fifty years after his death, the children of those who had driven him away from his establishment among the Gressons, becoming sensible of his worth and of the signal service he had rendered their country in bringing to them the blessings of the Gospel, not only restored the monastery their fathers had destroyed, but, to honor his memory the more, changed the name of the canton from which he had been expelled to St. Gall, a name which it retains to this day. St. Gall left a very large library. In the ninth century this collection was discovered by Mark, a countryman of his, then a bishop in Italy, who transferred the books to the celebrated library in Milan.

IRISH MISSIONARIES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, A. D. 680—800.

During the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, while continental Europe was plundered by invaders and torn by internal dissensions, Ireland remained remarkably quiet. At that period she enjoyed peace and general security longer than she ever had before or since. This seemed to have been providential. It not only gave time for the leaven of Christianity to diffuse itself throughout the Irish nation, but also enabled it to raise up an army of scholars and Gospel ministers to preserve the doctrine and literature of the church, and transmit them to those parts of the continent from which they had been driven away by the northern invaders.

During the greater part of this period Ireland not only sent abroad her missionaries, but she was an asylum for all nations. Thousands from the continent flocked to her peaceful shores, and received, on their arrival, the Irish *cead mille failtah*, "a thousand welcomes to you."

Among these were ecclesiastics, princes, and princesses, who, while they remained in exile, enjoyed not only security, but at the same time possessed the means of acquiring the best education which Europe, in those troublous times, could afford. What was still more valuable, they had the opportunity of being instructed in a purer form of Christianity than then existed in any other European country.

Among these exiles and visitors was Dagobert, a German prince, who spent a long time in Ireland, and became well acquainted with the Irish language. On his return and elevation to power, one of his first acts to benefit his principality was to invite and otherwise prepare the way for the reception of missionaries from Ireland. Germany, at that period, contained a greater number of petty kings or dukes than any other country on the continent, and their feuds and ambition kept the whole country in a state of commotion. Christianity had before existed in the cities and chief towns; but in the open country the greater part of the inhabitants were still pagans. To these wastes of ignorance and superstition a great number of missionaries repaired, chiefly from Ireland; among whom were Foilan, Duhuil, Ultan, Bavo, St. Levin, and many others, whose names, though not in history, are no doubt written in the Book of Life. Their labors were signally owned of the Lord in the conversion of thousands, as acknowledged by Mosheim in his summary of the prosperous events of the seventh century: "Many of the British, Scotch, and Irish ecclesiastics traveled among the Batavians, Belgic, and German nations, with the pious intentions to propagate the knowledge of the

faith, and for the erection of churches."[1] They were, also, on account of their reputation for superior scholarship, frequently invited to kings' courts, and to the houses of the dukes and other leading men on the continent. In their intercourse with them and their families, they exerted a powerful and almost uniformly happy influence, not only in regard to religion and their moral conduct, but also in reference to the administration of their official duties; for, as the venerable Bede had said of the brethren of an earlier period, what commended them more than anything else, was that they "lived in no other way than they taught." The purity of their lives, their patience, self-denial, and, in several instances, their martyrdom, gave full evidence, even to their bitterest enemies, of their sincerity, and also of that religion which they preached.

Some of these were the most learned and talented men of their day. Instead of settling in the cities on the continent, where wealth and preferment might have been obtained, they generally went to the most neglected places of France and Germany. In many instances, they seem purposely to have followed those tracts of country which had been devastated by the northern hordes, and to have spent the prime of their lives in searching out those Christians who had escaped the sword of the invaders, or in encouraging the faint-hearted and reclaiming those who had apostatized in the hour of trial. They were equally successful in collecting new congregations, in repairing plundered churches, and in rebuilding those that had been wholly destroyed. In many instances, it was from these Irish missionaries that the pagans, who were then invading France and Germany, heard their first Gospel sermon.

Years afterward, many German monasteries and convents were named after these Scoto-Irish missionaries, several of

[1] *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. I, p. 441.

which, Mosheim says, "were still existing in his day." St. Gall and his companions preached also the Gospel to the Helvetii, and St. Killian preached it with success among the Franks, so that vast numbers of them embraced Christianity."[1]

FRIDOLINUS VIATOR, THE TRAVELER. Born A. D. 670. Fridolinus was born in Connaught, Ireland, near the close of the seventh century. He was said to have been the son of one of the lesser kings of that country, and that in early life he renounced all his worldly prospects for the purpose of preaching the Gospel in foreign parts. Having received an education in the best schools of his native land, he passed over into France; after which he traveled generally through Europe, preaching, exhorting, and laboring in every way to bring all he could to the knowledge of Christ. Hence, on account of these long, frequent, and continuous journeys, he received the surname of *Viator*, "the traveler." He seems to have been in advance of all in his day in the appreciation of female education as efficient in the promotion of Christianity. For this purpose he established a nunnery, or a religious house, in Seckengen, in Germany, which for a long while prospered even beyond his anticipation. He died somewhere in Germany, and was by strangers buried and by strangers mourned. The Benedictines say, that centuries after his death anecdotes of his affability and kind-heartedness were rehearsed in the hamlets of the poor, and even in the rural churches of Lorraine, along the Rhine, in parts of Switzerland, and other countries through which he had traveled.

FURSEUS. Born in Ireland about A. D. 615. Having long labored in his own country, of which, however, we have

[1] *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. I, p. 441.

no particular account,[1] he went over to England and assisted Siegebert, king of the Angles, in founding a monastery in Suffolk, which was among the first schools in that country. Leaving his brother, Foilan, in charge of this school, with another brother he went over to France, and established a monastery far in the interior, among a people the greater part of whom were pagans. He seems to have superintended a company of missionaries who traveled extensively through Austria, Brabant, Flanders, and several other countries, preaching the Gospel thoroughly and fearlessly wherever they went. At the solicitation of St. Gertrude, they founded a monastery at Fosses, over which they placed Ultan, another brother, as abbot. Soon Foilan came over from England, and commenced his labors as an itinerant preacher with great vigor and success. Unhappily, in imitation of other iconoclasts, he began to break down or overturn the pagan altars and images. This violence raised a storm against himself and the other missionaries, in which three of them were killed; but they gained the crown of martyrdom, the coveted prize of that mistaken age of piety and chivalry. Their places, however, were soon filled by others equally self-sacrificing. These brothers founded in Brabant what was long known as "The Monastery of the Irish," which afterward sent forth to Central Europe many zealous missionaries and eminent scholars.

[1] It is remarkable that while we have interesting narratives of Irish missionaries in other countries, and these often written by foreigners and in other languages, we should be so destitute, or, at least, have such meagre accounts of their labors in their native land. Ireland seems always to have lived more for others than for herself. Her soldiers have fought successfully the battles of almost every country but their own; her strong men have cultivated foreign soils to the ends of the earth, while many of her own green fields lie waste and wild. The same may be said in regard to her scholars, especially after the ninth century, who enlightened other countries by their science and letters, while her own once celebrated schools gradually declined.

ST. LIVIN, OR LIVINIUS. About A. D. 668. Most of the Irish missionaries of this period, that they might the more fully identify themselves with their people, latinized or germanized their names. Livinius went out from the Monastery of the Irish, in Brabant, and traveled extensively through the different countries on the Rhine. He was a powerful and indefatigable preacher, who fearlessly pressed the claims of the Gospel wherever he went, especially upon the pagan invaders, many of whom heard their first Gospel sermon from him. In these long and continuous journeys he was exposed to peril at every step, and, at last, after a solemn denunciation of sin and idolatry, he suffered death, or the crown of martyrdom, as they were wont to call it, at their ferocious hands. He was not only an able preacher, but, according to his Letter to Charles the Bald, and from other compositions, he was an accomplished scholar. So high was his reputation, that the Benedictines appear ambitious to claim at least a part of his celebrity. "See a writer," they say, "in whom France has a right with Hibernia that gave him birth."[1]

ST. KILLIAN. A. D. 689. St. Killian, in his day, was the most celebrated Irish missionary in Germany, and perhaps, on that account, he was denominated "The Apostle of Franconia." He received a good education in the best schools of his native country, and at an early age passed over into Germany, where he traveled and preached to the close of his life. Mosheim says: "St. Killian exercised his ministerial functions with such great success among the eastern Franks that vast numbers of them embraced Christianity."[2]

A few years before his death, or rather his martyrdom, he

[1] Voici encore, un ecrivain, que la France est en droit, de partager avec l'Hibernie, qui lui donna naissance.—*Hist. Litt. de la France.*

[2] *Ecclesiastical History,* vol. I, p. 441.

was consecrated Bishop of Wurtemberg, but his elevation did not abate his zeal. Through his ministry the Duke of Wurtemberg professed to have been converted, and, on this confession, St. Killian required him immediately to separate from Geilana. The duke hesitated, confessed his reluctance, and plead the sacrifices he had already made to become a Christian. But the minister of God was inflexible. There could be no compromise: it was either the abandonment of Geilana or excommunication. Before his decision, the duke was suddenly called away on a military expedition, promising, however, that on his return he would comply with the demands of St. Killian and the church.

In the meanwhile, this Herodias of the West heard of the saint's requisition upon the prince, and she resolved at once to terminate the whole matter. One evening, while St. Killian and two of his ecclesiastics were chanting the service, the assassins entered with deadly purpose. The saint, knowing their errand, exhorted his companions to make no resistance, but calmly and with holy joy to receive the coveted crown of martyrdom. Soon their heads were in the basket. The blood of the martyrs, in this case, was the seed of the church; for their intrepidity in vindicating the truth, and in sealing it with their blood, was, to the heathen and others, overwhelming evidence of the integrity and purity of Christianity.

There were, perhaps, hundreds of others from Ireland, of whom we have not space to write. These missionaries, whom the French and Italians of that day represented as "coming from the ends of the earth," labored long and effectively in France and other continental countries. They were numerous, for the Benedictines and other French writers say "that during the eighth and ninth centuries shoals of scholars and priests came over into our country." Eric, of Auxerre, a writer of the ninth century, exclaimed,

"What shall we say of Ireland, who, despising the dangers of the sea, is migrating with almost her whole train of philosophers to our coast." Of nearly all these, no special memento remains at this day.

Toward the close of the seventh century there appears to have been a large number of Irish ecclesiastics in Germany and other countries of Central Europe; and, from the position which most of them filled, it would seem that they must have been eminent both for piety and learning.

About the seventh century, it had become customary among Irish missionaries and scholars to drop their native names, which sometimes were difficult of pronunciation by foreigners, and to translate them into Latin, German, or the language of the country to which they had emigrated. In all things not sinful, they identified themselves with the people, that they might be the more useful to them. But in this way their nationality was lost, and, in ecclesiastical history, they were regarded as natives of other countries. To this class belong Wiro, Florentius, Bishop of Strasburg, Rumold, Bishop of Mechlin, Colman, Albinus, Clementus, and a number of others, said by Mosheim to have been both Irish and French, who refused a blind submission and gave the most trouble to Rome.[1]

VIRGILIUS, or FARGIL. A. D. 704. As we approach the close of the eighth century, this influx of missionaries and scholars from Ireland to the continent continually becomes less. This decrease was occasioned, primarily, by the irruption of the Danes, who had broken up most of the Irish schools. Another cause may be found in the fact that the churches which these missionaries had so long sustained, were now raising up for themselves a supply of native preachers. Virgilius is first known on the continent about

[1] *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. I, p. 525.

A. D. 760. After residing a short time in France, he attracted the attention of Pepin, who took him to his court, near Compiegne, where he spent some years.[1]

On the recommendation of Pepin, Odilo, the duke of a principality in Germany, immediately appointed him the first lector of St. Peter's Abbey, in Salzburg.

At this time the great English missionary, Boniface, was Archbishop of Mentz, and also the Pope's legate in Bavaria; consequently he was the official superior of Virgilius. It appears that about this time an ignorant priest in the diocese, whose vernacular was German, had been in the habit of using very bad Latin in the administration of baptism, and that Boniface had pronounced these baptisms invalid, and required that they should be performed over again.[2]

Virgilius, to whom the order was sent, demurred, maintaining that bad grammar did not destroy the efficiency of the sacred ordinance. An appeal was made to Pope Zachary in regard to it, who gave a decision in favor of the spirited abbot, and wrote a letter of reproof to the legate and archbishop. The triumph of the subordinate was grating to the feelings of Boniface, who was then eagerly looking forward to the pontificate. Though foiled and reproved in this case, he was not willing to cease his censorship. Soon another

[1] Irish scholars tell us that *fer*, the Irish word for man, with the broad Celtic pronunciation, means the same as *vir* in Latin; and as *f* and *v* are convertible letters, Fargil, with the Latin termination added, easily passed into Virgilius.

[2] In performing baptism, the German priest had been accustomed to say *Ego baptize te in nomine, Patria, et Filia, et Spiritua Sancta,* instead of saying, *In nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*—*Moore's Ireland*, p. 146. The officiator seems to have had no knowledge of declensions, or of the meaning of the words, for, as he pronounced them, they would read, literally: "In the name, the country, the daughter, and the spiritual holy," which would be without meaning.

complaint was instituted, which charged the Irish lector with heresy. In the specifications, Boniface asserted that Virgilius held "that there was another world, and another sun and moon, and that there were other men under the earth."[1]

The fact seems to have been, that the latter, in his Irish schools at home, had acquired some knowledge of geography and astronomy, and that his philosophical researches had given him some notion of the sphericity of the earth. Boniface, not understanding these matters, and more intent on the popedom than on true knowledge, still maintained his charge of heresy, affirming that if there were antipodes—that is, other men under the world—then there must be another Christ. Accordingly, he affirmed that, if this was true, there must be another system of religion; and that such opinions were contrary to the fathers, particularly to St. Augustin, Lactanius, and the Scriptures.

To this charge the Pope replied: "That if Virgilius did really maintain that there were another world, and other men under the earth, and another sun and another moon,[2] that a council should be called, and that he should be disrobed and excommunicated." New difficulties arose; and the whole matter seems to have become very complicated. As there is no record left of any further proceedings, it is highly probable that the Pope and archbishop, becoming better acquainted with the laws of astronomy, discontinued further action in the matter.

Virgilius, however, appears to have survived these charges,

[1] Quod alius mundus et alii homines sint, seu alius sol et luna.—*Boniface to the Pope, in History of Ireland,* p. 147.

[2] *History of Ireland,* p. 147. The argument of Boniface was this: *Si essent antipodes, alii homines adeoque alius Christus introduceretur,* "If there were antipodes, and other men, there must be another Christ." It was afterward asserted that he was charged with being a *mathematician,* but of this there is not sufficient proof.

for he was afterward chosen to the bishopric of Salzburg.[1] In this relation he became very popular, and made several great and important improvements in both the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of that diocese. During his superintendence he educated two Carnithian princes, and, returning them to their native land, was thus instrumental in introducing Christianity to an entirely heathen people. He died A. D. 784, at a very advanced age, and, what is rather remarkable, in the year 1233 (449 after his decease) he was, for some political reasons, canonized by Pope Gregory the Ninth.

In reviewing this sketch of Virgilius, several facts are worthy of notice. It appears, from undoubted authority, that five hundred years before Galileo, and before the time of Copernicus, Virgilius had a correct idea of the sphericity of the earth. Whether this great truth had originated with himself, or had been taught in the Irish schools, or whether he had derived it from his Greek readings, cannot be determined; but certainly this idea of the earth's form was not then the general opinion, nor even that of the learned in the eighth century, nor for several centuries afterward. It is remarkable that, for succeeding centuries, so little had been said or written in regard to this great discovery.

Is it not strange that such an idea, so full of practical utility, should have remained inoperative for at least six centuries? It is probable, however, that this great idea, from that period, and perhaps an earlier one, had been silently developing itself until the fifteenth century, when it arrested the attention of Copernicus, and afterward the more practical mind of Columbus.

English writers, for a long time, almost wholly ignored this great discovery of the eighth century. The French,

[1] See chapter III, in which there is a curious account of his bringing a Greek bishop from Ireland.

however, have frequently alluded to it. D'Alembert acknowledges that the truth of the antipodes "was held by a bishop [Virgilius] six centuries before the discoveries of Columbus."[1] The authors of the Literary History of France justly award the meed of praise to Virgilius. "Before," say they, "all the wise men whom we admire was Virgilius of Salzburg, a man of great knowledge, as much skilled in philosophy as in theology. He was the first that was known to have discovered the antipodes, or another world."[2]

In writing the biographical sketches of these Irish missionaries, we are arrested by the frequent instances of their assassination. Whether these murders arose from the general ferocity of the inhabitants, their hostility to foreign teachers, or to the direct hatred of those who rebuked their sins, cannot at this time be determined; but from them we may infer that these missionaries were true men, faithful to God and his church. There is not, we believe, an instance on record where any of them were accused of fawning or of flattery. Their integrity and straightforwardness seem to have been the real cause of this enmity.

In conclusion, it is worthy of special notice that, previous to the tenth century, the Irish clergy in general, though loved and honored by the people, and possessed of talents and learning beyond the average priests or ministers of their day, scarcely ever rose high in the estimation of the bishops of Rome. Not one of them was ever appointed a legate, or recommended as a cardinal, or chosen to the popedom, or even sent on a foreign embassy, except in a single

[1] ——— les antipodes; et pour avoir deviné leurs existence six cents ans avant que Christophe Columbe.—Quoted from *History of Ireland*, p. 147.

[2] Il est le premier que l'on sache qui ait decouvert les antipodes, ou l'autre monde.—*Ibidem*.

and unimportant instance; while, on the contrary, many priests from Britain and other countries, who were, at that period, in almost every respect their inferiors, were frequently appointed by the popes to high positions of trust and honor. Even while the Irish Church was in process of Romanization, the papacy appears to have been rather chary in regard to Irish bishops, never, except in a few instances, consecrating them until they had been previously elected by the people, and their consecration strongly urged.

Whoever will attentively study the history of the Irish Primitive Church in connection with that of Rome, will readily discover in the latter continuous distrust, or an apprehension of something wrong in the former, either in reference to orthodoxy, to conformity, or to subordination. The instances of this wary cautiousness on the part of Rome are too numerous, and, in point of time, they are too far apart to have been accidental, or the mere caprice of one individual. It seems rather to have been the settled policy of the popes. Indeed, the Irish clergy, as a body, had never been trusted or cordially fellowshiped by the Roman Catholic Church until after the invasion by the Anglo-Normans; and not even then, until many of the papal clergy of England had been appointed to the most important and influential places in Ireland, places in which they could check opposition and advance the views of the Roman faith.

VIII

STATE OF THE IRISH CHURCH

FROM ITS ESTABLISHMENT IN THE FIFTH CENTURY, TO THE INVASION OF THE ANGLO-NORMANS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

Its Creed and Form of Worship...Churches and Monasteries...Ancient Festival...Brehon Laws...Music and Poetry...Social Condition, A. D. 465—787, Superior to that of the Twelfth Century...Irruption of the Danes...Destruction of Churches and Monasteries...Battle of Clontarf...One Hundred and Fifty Years of Discord...State of the Country A. D. 950—1170...Every Interest Prostrated...Schools Closed...Agriculture Neglected...Anarchy Everywhere...Church Discipline the only Law Respected...It only kept Society from a General Dissolution...Amid this Confusion, Papal Emissaries spread themselves through the Country.

DURING this long period the history of the Irish Church may be divided into two equal parts—the prosperous and the calamitous. For about three hundred years after the death of St. Patrick, there is scarcely any civil or military history that belongs to Ireland. The absence of such history, particularly of the latter, has been generally received as an evidence of the peace and prosperity of a country—an inference which was emphatically true at this time in regard to Ireland.

It seemed that the Lord was pleased to have given this season of rest to the Irish people, apparently that the Christianity which they had so recently received might have time thoroughly to leaven the whole nation, and, while continental Europe was distracted by the irruption of the northern hordes, that Ireland might become a repository of religion

and literature, to raise up and send out, as she afterward did, hundreds of scholars and missionaries to the continent.

Most of the general history of Ireland during this first period has been transmitted to us in the lives of her saints, scholars, and missionaries, sketches of which have been given in the preceding chapters. In this chapter we purpose to give a brief view of the interior state of the Irish Church, with some notices of the Irish people, from the reception of Christianity to the invasion of the Anglo-Normans. Could a complete and exact history of this long period be written, it would be highly interesting, and fill a large blank in the affairs of that country; but the materials for such a work are extremely meagre, disconnected, and often very contradictory. We will, however, attempt what can be done, apprising the reader, at the same time, that the draft must necessarily be imperfect, although it has cost the writer much research, laborious collation, and hours of painful thought. It has been a difficult task to separate facts from fiction, to harmonize opposing accounts, and to elicit from the whole a sketch of the doctrines, usages, and changes in the Irish Church through this period.

That form of Christianity which St. Patrick introduced into Ireland was of the simplest kind. We have no direct knowledge in reference to the articles of its faith, but from all that we can infer, it seems to have consisted in a belief in Christ, an acknowledgment of the Scriptures, and a general reception of the principal doctrines and institutions of Christianity. Concerning the order of their public worship, no detailed account has come down to us; but, from the mental status of the people, and the manner of their living, we may reasonably conclude that it was very unceremonious. We cannot believe that the Irish Christians, in their remote and isolated position, could have been in advance of the older churches on the continent in their rites and ceremonies,

or in the observance of a uniform and intricate order of public worship. Mosheim thus writes concerning the Church of the fourth century: "Every bishop consulted his own judgment concerning the times and genius of the country, and formed such a plan of worship as he thought best; hence the varieties of liturgies."[1] Thus, the Latin or Roman ritual, so far from being everywhere in use, as some have asserted, was not at that time even completed. We are assured that so early as the sixth century there was a difference between the Irish and Roman churches, as may be seen in the address of Honorius to the Irish bishops, and in the letter of Columbanus to the Pope, in which the latter charged the bishops of Rome with departing from the Catholic faith, which, he boastingly says, the Irish Church "had kept unwaveringly, just as they had received it at the beginning." The Pope's legate, several centuries afterward, reported to the vatican that Ireland was filled "with heretical and schismatical errors;" and Bishop Ussher also says, that "diverse rules and manner of celebration of public worship, and other church order, were observed in this kingdom [Ireland] till the Roman use was brought in by Gilbertus, A. D. 1120."[2]

As we have already seen, the venerable Bede describes a church in North Britain, which, he says, "was built after the manner of the Scots [Irish] of split oak and covered with thatch."

Mr. Petrie, in his recent essays on Ireland, represents the ancient Irish churches of a later period as neither great nor artistic. He says they were generally simple oblong quadrangular edifices, measuring from sixty to eighty feet in length, and that by the early writers they were called Basilicas, nearly resembling the Roman buildings of that name. Some of them were made of wood, but generally they were built of large polygonal stones. The smaller

[1] *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. I, p. 303. [2] Vol. IV, p. 274.

ones were sometimes covered with stones, but the larger generally with shingles, straw, reeds, or with lead. They had but one door, which was covered with a horizontal lintel; the windows were small, triangular-headed, and sometimes semi-circular. "None of these churches were circular, octagonal, or of the cross-form."[1]

The above seems to be descriptive of only the country churches. There was, however, an ancient church in Armagh, the age of which is unknown, that was one hundred and forty feet in length; and there are also the ruins of churches in Cashel, Glendolough, and some other places, which present a beautiful and an elaborate style of architecture, differing widely from the more recent style of the Normans.

Closely connected with these churches were the monasteries or Christian schools, which at that period were almost a part, or at least an adjunct to them. It appears to have been the usual practice of St. Patrick, and his immediate successors, to have founded such schools wherever they had collected a considerable congregation. Religion and literature with them appear to have been one and inseparable. These schools, however, at their commencement, must have been more like our mission stations in heathen countries, than the monastic institutions of a later period. Bishop Ussher says that St. Patrick founded nearly one hundred of them; consequently, from their number and the sparseness of Christians at that time in Ireland, they must have been mere ordinary schools.[2]

Concerning the character of the Irish monasteries of somewhat later times, Archbishop Ussher thus writes: "Our monasteries, in ancient times, were seminaries of the ministry, being mere colleges of learned divines, where the people did resort for instruction, and got their supply of able min-

[1] *Petrie*, in *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1834. [2] Vol. IV, p. 250.

isters."[1] They appear to have arisen somewhat in this way: the preachers, monks, or ministers, having collected a congregation, selected a site for their establishment, built huts or houses, and commenced preaching; and also taught those that desired it, both children and adults, at least to read the Scriptures and other religious writings. In addition to their literary and religious labors, they cultivated their lands or gardens for their own support. Fursey, an Irish monk of the seventh century, quoted by Ussher, said "that the monks of Ireland worked in silence and ate their own bread."

A large number of churches in Ireland owe their origin to these abbot bishops, or superintendents, who appear to have had no third ordination. Being thus located, the people of the surrounding country came to see them and hear them preach. In time many families built houses around these abbeys, the gates of which were to be always kept open to the poor, the persecuted, and all who were desirous of becoming Christians. To sustain such an institution, those who were willing gave of their means and labor. Thus, the abbot soon became the head of a community or city, to which he stood in the relation not only of pastor, but of protector and magistrate. In time, for the accommodation of students, visitors, and people of the surrounding country, several churches were erected. At this period there was no hierarchy; there were no dioceses; the boundaries of the churches were not distinctly marked, and they became numerous.

The Irish, with their characteristic tenacity, long after the reception of Christianity, adhered to many of the usages of their fathers. No people had ever received the Gospel more readily or heartily than they, and yet the new religion, which they loved so well, was required in many things, not

[1] Vol. IV, p. 294.

essentially sinful, to conform to the established customs of this ancient people. Neither did St. Patrick, nor his immediate successors, attempt to assail or to abrogate all such customs; but, on the contrary, allowed many of them to remain, and often made their outward forms the channel through which to convey Christian instruction. Hence, he and his disciples generally attended all the great gatherings of the people, among which were their various festivals, the Bealtine games, and the great national assemblies at Tara. At these meetings, availing themselves of the indifference or of the toleration of Druidism, they always preached. These were to them pentecostal seasons, affording an immediate access to the thousands who had come from the utmost parts of the island, and who, on their return to their different localities, would rehearse to the listening multitudes the wonderful things which they had heard and seen at Tara.

They also continued several other festivals which the masses were yet unwilling to give up, always, however, aiming to christianize their character, and sometimes to change their names, as well as the times of holding them. Thus, the great festival of Samhil, to which the people had been immemorially attached, and which always fell exactly on the vernal equinox, was soon found to interfere with the solemnities of Easter. In this case, the Christian teachers succeeded in putting off the former celebration till the first of May. So, also, in regard to the annual lighting of fires, which formerly had taken place precisely at the summer solstice, but was now brought back and fixed on the day of the Christian Pentecost.

This change or accommodation was the more readily allowed by the people, on account of its supposed agreement with their own festival; and soon it became an entire substitute for it. The first Christian preachers, availing themselves of this general opinion, taught the pagan Irish that

the descent of the Holy Ghost, as set forth by Christianity, was the real and the only fire that came down from heaven.

During the old religion, the people, in their worship, were accustomed to meet within the circles of their sacred or Druidic stones, which inclosures were often, though improperly, called their temples. At other times they met on the tops of certain hills, which had been really the "high places" of the pagan Irish, and were sometimes so designated by the Druid priests; but now, under the new order of things, the first Christian teachers, yielding to their predilections, assembled their first congregation on these sacred hills, and even within these inclosures.

Their first churches were often erected on these hills, or near an oaken grove or tree; hence the Irish word *dare* or *doire*, oak, is found so often in combination with the names of their early churches. There was another predilection to which the Irish adhered, both in their pagan and Christian state, and also through all their political and national calamities, which was the annual rehearsal of their Brehon laws. This code seemed to have been the basis of all their legislation, and was something like a constitution for the whole nation, binding alike the kings and princes as well as the most lowly individuals. It is worthy of notice, that these laws, which St. Patrick heard on the hills in the fifth century, were repeated a thousand years afterward on the same hills and in the same language.

In giving an account of the early Christians of Ireland, we must not forget their music and poetry. The ancient Irish were emphatically a people of poetry and song. Unfortunately, all their early manuscript poems, written in their own language, have long since disappeared. A few quotations from them, however, have been preserved in other writings; and those who understand the language say that they present a very curious idiom and a singular struc-

ture of double verse, which is so very peculiar that none but a people of strong musical feeling could have composed or set to music.

Craik, in the History of England, says "that the harp, and the popular music generally of the Saxons, were in all probability borrowed from the Irish, among whom the art appears to have flourished from the remotest antiquity, and to have been carried at an early period to a perfection elsewhere unknown."[1] Geraldus Cambrensis, during his long sojourn in Ireland, thus describes the bards whom he often heard play: "Their modulations," he says, "are not slow and solemn, as in Britain, but rapid and precipitous, yet at the same time sweet and pleasing. It is wonderful how, in such precipitated rapidity of the fingers, that the musical proportions are preserved; and by the art, faultless throughout, in the midst of their complicated modulations and most intricate arrangement of notes, by a rapidity so sweet, regularity so irregular, and concord so discordant, the melody is rendered harmonious and perfect."[2]

From the death of St. Patrick in 465, to the invasion of the Danes in 787, though less than formerly, Ireland still remained comparatively an isolated country. The Irish were so attached to their homes, and to the ideas of their fathers, that, except through their missionaries, they had very little communication with the churches on the continent. During these centuries they had been neither improved nor corrupted by foreign intercourse or influence. Although religion had prospered and learning had advanced rapidly, yet the great body of the people had not made equal improvement in either domestic or agricultural affairs. Celtic tenacity held its sway, and customs and modes of living not evidently inconsistent with the new faith, were still continued. The

[1] *Pictorial History of England*, vol I, p 308.

[2] *Geraldus Cambrensis*, quoted by Moore.—*Hist. of Ireland*, p. 157.

Irish, having never yet felt the stimulating influences arising from intercourse or competition with other nations, appear to have been almost devoid of enterprise. At this period, before they had been brought into irritating collision with other nations, they were said to have been a mild, affectionate, and simple-hearted people.

As Ireland had for centuries enjoyed the mild and inspiring influences of Christianity, we may reasonably suppose that it had made at least some progress in its material condition, as we know it had in its literature and religion. The teachings and the institutions of Christianity could not have remained so long wholly inoperative; for during this period we read in their annals of plowing and sowing, and of frequent intercessions in their churches for the divine blessing upon their crops. A law is mentioned in them that required every one who owned twenty cows to keep at least one plow in use. They had no coin, but gold and silver were given and received by weight; cows, however, were the standard of exchange. There must also have been some rude mechanism among them; for there are several incidental allusions to mills, to water mills, and to the irrigation of their lands. Mention is also made of carpenters. The father of the learned Finnian was a house-builder. They must have had carriages of some kind. St. Patrick was in a carriage when the assassin attempted to kill him; and Adomnan speaks of the vanquished in a certain battle who escaped in their carriages. In their annals there are references to honey, to the raising of bees, grapes, and the apple-tree, but to what extent they were cultivated is not satisfactorily described.

In the absence, then, of any more authentic data, we will turn to inferences, and even to poetry, to glean from them something in regard to the material condition of Ireland during this long period. Donatus, an Irish bishop of the

ninth century, who had settled in Italy, wrote a eulogy on his native country, which was afterward inscribed on his tombstone. We transcribe a part of it in the poetic translation of Thomas Moore, which he says was among his first juvenile efforts at poetry. Donatus, with other encomiums on his native country, wrote:

> "Her verdant fields with milk and honey flow;
> Her wooly fleeces vie with virgin snow;
> Her waving furrows float with bearded corn,
> And arts and arms her envied sons adorn."

To which poetic description we may add what Alfrid, king of Northumberland, is said to have found in "Fair Inisfail," during his long exile in that country. In speaking of this period of his life, as recorded in the Itinerary, which is attributed to him, he thus wrote:

> "I found in each province
> Of the five provinces of Ireland,
> Both in Church and State,
> Much food, much raiment.
>
> "I found gold and silver;
> I found honey and wheat;
> I found affection with the people of God;
> I found banquets and cities."[1]

Here are two independent witnesses, wholly unknown to each other, living in different periods and in distant countries, both of whom testify to what they had seen and experienced while in Ireland, and both agree in regard to the material condition of that country. Hence, after making due allowance for the extravagance of poetry, there seems to be no reasonable doubt that the condition of Ireland was vastly superior, during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, be-

[1] *Illus. Men of Ireland*, vol. I, p. 157.

fore the devastations of the Danes, to what it was at the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion.[1]

We now approach the calamitous period of Irish history. Previous to this, for about four hundred years, the elective monarchy of the kingdom had been kept in the family of the Neills, the lineal descendants of the Niall of the Nine Hostages; but now, unhappily, when the nation needed the strength of unity more than at any other time, there were several competitors for the throne. During the three hundred years of this dynasty, the Irish Church had enjoyed great peace and prosperity. It had covered the island with churches and monasteries, and had sent scholars and missionaries to almost every country on the continent; but all this while it had made little or no progress in good government. The same cluster of petty kings, which had formerly cursed the nation, was still in power. They had never entered heartily into the spirit of Christianity, and, through all the changes of the country, they remained so selfish and jealous of each other, that they could never agree upon any plan of national defence. To aggrandize themselves and their children, they had divided and subdivided the country into small dynasties, which had weakened the national government and engendered endless jealousies. They were unworthy of the frank, generous, and unsuspecting people over whom the ancient usages of the nation had placed them.

The long seclusion of the Irish people from the rest of the world terminated at the close of the eighth century. Here-

[1] Geraldus, in the twelfth century, in speaking of Ireland, mentions mills and agricultural implements. There is a manuscript in the Dublin Library, written in the Irish language, in which are recorded laws or rules concerning mills, grinding, plowshares, chariots, barns, and other agricultural matters. There are also the massive stones in the cromlechs, whose elevation and peculiar position must have required the aid of mechanical power. See *Colgan's Acta*, *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1832–34.

tofore they had boasted that the foot of an invader had never pressed their green soil, but now the savages of the Baltic were penetrating their harbors and plundering their villages. Before opposition could be organized, while the Irish dwellings were yet blazing, these robbers were off on the main, and perfectly secure with their booty. If one horde had been repulsed or destroyed, another more numerous generally succeeded it. From the seaboard, the robbers soon ventured into the interior. In a few years, with Turgessius at their head, they plundered and burned the churches and monasteries of Armagh, Iniscorthy, Glendolough, Mayo of the English, and many others. "Let it suffice," says Mr. Moore, in speaking of Turgessius, "to state that there was not a single spot of renown in the ecclesiastical history of our country [Ireland]; not one of those numerous religious foundations, the seats and monuments of the early piety of her sons, that was not frequently, during this period, burned and made the scene of fearful and brutal excesses."[1] Notwithstanding the general devastation of the country, these institutions were soon resuscitated, and some of them greatly enlarged.

Mr. Moore says these sea-robbers were not called Danes by the Irish, but pirates or dwellers on the lakes. By whatever name they were called, a more murderous horde had never inundated a peaceful land. Some nations loved war for the power it gave them; others, for the plunder they gained. These Scandinavian robbers appear to have loved it for its own sake—for the blood that it shed, and the flames it kindled. They rushed into a battle as the hungry to a banquet. They supposed their gods to be present on every battle-field, that they might see the sanguinary fray, and snuff, with frenzied delight, the odor arising from the victims who were burning in their own dwellings.

[1] *History of Ireland*, p. 171.

After a while many of the Danes, who had seen the fair fields of Ireland, and had inhaled its balmy air—a luxury unknown in the hyperborean regions of Scandinavia—purposed to make in it a permanent settlement; and probably might have effected it, had they not undertaken the total extirpation of Christianity. The impious attempt awakened the whole nation, and for the first time in their history they were a united people. Their unity was in their religion, and through its power the Danes were crushed or scattered.

For a considerable time after the death of Tergessius, their chief, the Danes remained quelled and disorganized; but when a fleet of one hundred and forty sail of their countrymen appeared on the coast, the dispersed and vanquished immediately rallied to receive and join the new invaders. Had there been a total defeat on either side, it would have been a blessing to the whole country—a benefit alike to the vanquished and the victors. It would have ended a war that was not only impoverishing the country, but was also vitiating the church and the people.

After a generation or two, or toward the close of the ninth century, many of the Northmen, having been long in the country and apparently weary of continual warfare, began gradually to assume the more civilized forms of living, and to trade with the natives. Many intermarriages had already been contracted, and the two races were evidently losing much of their hostility to each other. Before they had time to coalesce to any considerable extent, another very formidable fleet of invaders appeared on the coast, who were denominated by the Irish *dubh galls*, the black strangers, who are supposed to have been Norwegians. Whoever they were, they immediately and indiscriminately fell upon the natives and the Danes. Now came the tug of war—Northmen against Northmen, equal in courage, weapons and discipline.

This war between the invaders was very ferocious, and soon involved in its complications all the Irish chieftains, and ultimately became more corrupting to the morals of the people and the integrity of the church than any war that had preceded it.

During this long and bloody period—from A. D. 950 to A. D. 1170—the Church of Ireland was called to pass through a series of unprecedented trials—trials out of which, unhappily, she did not come unscathed. Instead of being perfected through suffering, she deteriorated in almost every particular. In her former wars directly with the pagan Danes, her losses had been mostly material; but in these they were not only material, but mainly of a moral character. During these long internecine wars, many of the Irish chieftains became as ferocious and predatory as the Danes. They were as reckless of the lives of their own countrymen, as they were regardless of the duties and sanctions of their religion. Even the common people, who hitherto had been more religious and in every respect better than their rulers, were carried down by this flood of iniquity. An Irish writer of that period, speaking of this change, said: "Instead of the natural gayety and docility, which had once characterized the natives, the Irish had now generally become coarse, suspicious, and, in some instances, as ferocious as beasts."

Yet the church, with all her deteriorations and imperfections, persecuted and plundered by pagan invaders, and neglected and often maltreated by her own princes, was, for nearly a hundred years before the battle of Clontarf, and about twice as long after it, the only power which kept society from a general dissolution. Her discipline, which generally had been faithfully administered, supplied the place of the civil law, and was really the only authority then respected. The terrors of future punishment, which

the church constantly held up before these native and foreign marauders, seem to have been the only power that kept them in check.

Further, the church, through all these wasting commotions, was the only conservator of learning. Some of her ministers or priests still lingered among the ruins of her former monasteries, and kept the embers of literature from entire extinction. The church, at this period, was the only stay that kept the nation from reverting wholly to barbarism.

By the battle of Clontarf, A. D. 1080, the Danish power in Ireland was forever broken. Unfortunately, Brian, who had won the battle, left no successor for Ireland. For one hundred and fifty years there were continuous wars among the chieftains for the national sovereignty. During these commotions every interest of the country was affected. Agriculture was neglected, the people were impoverished, and the schools, once the glory of the nation, were mostly closed, and their inmates dragged to the armies, or driven to the continent. In the midst of this general confusion, and what was ultimately more disastrous than all these together, Rome and the Papal Church of England put forth their united and most vigorous efforts to fasten the entire system of Popery upon the Irish people.

IX

ROMANIZATION OF THE IRISH PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

Papal Efforts to bring Ireland to Conformity...Interference of the Archbishops of Canterbury...The Pope's Letter...Danish Bishops...First Papal Legate in Ireland, A. D. 1120...St. Malachy...St. Bernard Reproaches the Irish...Pope's Bull to Conquer Ireland...The Invasion. Synod of Armagh by the Native Bishops...Synod of Cashel, called by Henry II, A. D. 1172...Tenacity of the Irish to their Old Church. Conclusion.

PAPAL ROME never relinquishes a favorite object. If one class of agents becomes inefficient, another is soon found and put in operation. As we have already seen, the Irish Church, in her isolation and poverty, grew up to maturity following the plain scriptural teachings of her founder. It was not till A. D. 630, about two hundred years after her commencement, before the bishops or the popes of Rome took any official notice of her; and when they did, it was one of rebuke or expostulation, because she did not conform to their "canonical usages." This want of conformity was never lost sight of, and for centuries afterward incessant and unavailing efforts were made to bring the Irish "*to the one Catholic and Roman office.*" These efforts, however, for a long time, were feeble and irregular, and made no impression on the common people or the poorer clergy, who, with their characteristic tenacity, still held fast to their ancient creed and usages.

In the beginning of the eleventh century the popes enlisted the English kings and ecclesiastics, especially the archbishops of Canterbury, as auxiliaries in fastening Ro-

manism on Ireland. In A. D. 1056, more than a century before the English invasion, when both countries were equally independent of each other, politically and ecclesiastically, Lanfranc, the archbishop, became very much concerned about the religious condition of Ireland, and wrote the following very flattering letter to Thorlough, or Terdelvacho, styling him "the magnificent king of Ireland." "God," says the archbishop, "has been very merciful to the people of Ireland, when he gave your excellency royal power over the land, for so hath my brother and fellow bishop, Patrick,[1] reported unto me concerning your pious humility toward the good, your severe justice on the wicked, and your discreet equity toward all men; that though it has never been my good fortune to see you, yet I love you as if I had."[2] In the same letter there is a return to the old and often repeated complaint of a want of conformity to "canonical practices." These, however, were about the same complaints, scarcely modified by time, which Honorius, the Bishop of Rome, had presented nearly four hundred years before. To these "practices," all this while, the Irish had not yet conformed. The complaints, at this time, were mainly these: 1. Uncanonical marriages.[3] 2. Consecration of bishops by only one officiating bishop. 3. The baptism of children without using the consecrated chrism.[4] 4. That holy orders had been conferred for money. The

[1] This Bishop Patrick seems to have been a Dane, who assumed the name of Patrick.

[2] Terdelvacho Inclyto Regi Hibernæ.—*Moore's Ireland*, p. 238.

[3] The truth was this: the Irish did not contract marriages as the English did; they considered the betrothal, as was customary among the orientals, the true marriage. See *Gen.*, xxix: 15–26; *Math.*, i: 18–20. Is not this another evidence of the Greek origin of the Irish Church?

[4] Quod infantes, baptismo, sine chrismato consecrato, baptizantur. Quoted by *Ussher*, *Epist. Hibern.*, vol. IV, p. 287.

constant repetition of these complaints for so many centuries is evidence that the popes at that time had no authoritative jurisdiction in Ireland. If they had, why did they allow these evils to arise, or why had they not at once suppressed them, rather than have suffered them to run on for four hundred years? Incidents abound throughout Irish history sustaining our position, that for more than five hundred years the popes had no ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Ireland.

About this time [A. D. 1090], Pope Gregory wrote a letter to Thorlough in the same flattering style, addressing him as the "illustrious king of Ireland."[1] In this letter, however, he reminds the king of the nonconformity in his kingdom, and of his claim, as the head of the church, to the control not only of the spiritual, but also of the temporal authority of all the kingdoms and principalities of Europe.

Shortly after, A. D. 1095, Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote several letters, on the same subject, to Muiradach, styling him, "by the grace of God, the glorious king of Ireland."[2]

In these and various other ways the bishops of Rome and the then Papal Church of England—even a century before the Anglo-Normans had gained a footing in Ireland—were laying their plans to bring over the church of that country into entire subjection to the papacy. This was assiduously continued for more than two centuries, and, in the end, it was too successful, ultimately making Ireland one of the most papal countries of all Europe. While these Romanizing schemes were secretly and industriously at work, according to the Irish annals of the tenth and twelfth centuries, the great body of the Irish ministry appear to have been unconscious of what was passing, but were spending their

[1] Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Terdelvacho Inclyto Regi Hibernæ.—*Moore's History of Ireland*, p. 224.

[2] *Ibidem*, p. 239.

lives in works of charity and devotion, amid the ruins of their once flourishing churches and monasteries.

Having thus secured the co-operation of the kings and some of the most prominent ecclesiastics in Ireland, the bishops of Rome were now only waiting for a favorable opportunity to carry their long-cherished purpose into effect. Such an opportunity soon presented itself in the case of the Danish bishops.

The first open and effective movement of any importance toward Rome was made through the descendants of the Danes. The Danes in Ireland, at this period, may be divided into two classes, one of which had already extensively intermarried with the natives, and of whom the English afterward were wont to say, reproachfully, "that they were more Irish than the Irish themselves." The other class generally refused to coalesce with the natives, and were regarded by the nation rather in the light of colonists. When the latter class of Danish descent had embraced Christianity, their affinities in everything were far stronger toward the Anglo-Saxons, whom, in some way, they regarded as their kindred, than toward the Irish, whom they affected to despise. This class, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, became chiefly the traffickers of the whole country, and consequently they located themselves in the seaports of Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford. As soon as they had become sufficiently numerous to form a distinct religious community, they made application to Lanfranc, the English Archbishop of Canterbury, for the ordination of their clergy.

The primates and most of the principal ecclesiastics in England, at that time, were not only Papists, but Italians, and, being fully intent on the entire subjugation of the Irish Church to Rome, they regarded this request with great favor. Accordingly, Lanfranc, high churchman as he was, after some deprecating acknowledgment of the want of

jurisdiction in Ireland, yielded so far as to ordain two bishops for them. In this act—the inception of other measures for the subjugation of the Irish Church and people—the native clergy took no part. The whole was effected by the treachery of Muiradach, king of South Ireland, the popes, and their agents, the papal bishops of England. The first bishop thus ordained for Ireland was Donat, a foreigner, a Dane by birth, and who was consecrated at Canterbury in England A. D. 1038. The second Danish bishop assumed the name of Patrick, and was drowned in the Irish Sea, while forwarding correspondence in regard to the old hackneyed subject of nonconformity. The third bishop, Donat, is well known in Irish history for the following declaration of canonical obedience, which he made to Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, as the representative of the Pope. He thus vowed: "I, Donat, Bishop of the See of Dublin in Ireland, do promise canonical obedience to you, O Lanfranc, and to your successors."[1]

Although the Irish Church, before this time, had been to some extent Romanized, yet this was the first open and official trespass upon her independence. This occurred six hundred years after her acceptance of Christianity, and was mainly accomplished by foreigners, few even of the semi-Romanist clergy taking any part in it.

On a review of these transactions, several points are worthy of notice:

1. If the Church of Ireland, at this time, was under the jurisdiction of the popes, as some assert, and the bishops of Armagh were *nati legati*, or *ex-officio*, their legates, where then was the necessity or propriety that Donat, in this case, should give such solemn pledges to Lanfranc, the Pope's representative in England? Previous to this we never heard that such pledges had been given by the Irish.

[1] *Illus. Men of Ireland*, vol. I, p. 235. *Ware's Irish Antiquities*, vol. I.

2. If the Irish bishops of Armagh were *ex-officio* legates, or if they stood in the same relation to Rome that the English primates did, why could not these Danish bishops, about to be consecrated, have given this pledge to the Irish bishops at home, rather than cross over to England to give them and receive ordination?

3. Does not this, and all the accompanying circumstances, give *prima facie* evidence that the Irish bishops, at this time, were not considered an integral part of the popedom, and that these foreign ordinations from the Pope's representative in England were the initiatory steps to the establishment of a papal hierarchy where none had existed before? How can these facts be understood or explained in any other way?

These encroachments, however, upon the independence of the Irish Church were for a long while confined to a single congregation, as in the then small city of Dublin,[1] or, at farthest, to two other small cities, and did not excite much attention, nor in any wise interfere with the affairs of the native clergy. Their mere inception led to other encroachments, by extending the jurisdiction of the Danish bishops, until they absorbed the congregations of the native bishops, and ultimately ended in the subjugation of the Primitive Irish Church. Having, in this way, gained most of the Dano-Irish clergy to the interest of the papacy, the next step was to win over the rulers and the principal Irish ecclesiastics.

After the decease of Lanfranc, Anselm, his successor, continued the same efforts for the reformation of the Irish Church, and found in Guille, or Gillebert, the Danish Bishop of Limerick, a willing and an efficient helper. Gillebert

[1] The Pope's legate in Ireland, about 1152, reported to the vatican that the diocese of the Danish bishop in Dublin was so small that it was "within the walls of that little city."

began his reformatory efforts by requiring that the church services should be "handled according to the one Catholic office," as they were in England. Although unsuccessful, except in his own church, his zeal immediately brought him into notice, and soon he received from the Pope the appointment of apostolic legate for all Ireland. He was thus, as before observed, the first papal representative that had ever appeared in Ireland, and began his superintendence six hundred and fifty years after the commencement of the Irish Church. He soon called a synod at Rath Breasail, but it does not seem that many of the native bishops attended it. One of the first efforts of this synod was to reorganize the entire Church of Ireland. 1. By establishing "the one Catholic and Roman office" or ritual. 2. By dispensing with far more than half of her bishops. 3. By the creation of the two great archiepiscopal dioceses—those of Armagh and Cashel. Referring to these times, Bishop Ussher says that "previous to the eleventh century neither the name nor the grade of an archbishop was known in Ireland."[1] These measures were all new. The Irish had not asked for them. They were evidently the commencement of an Irish hierarchy to concentrate the whole power of the church, which power before had been diffused among the entire clergy and exercised through their synods.

This new organization seems to have been only on paper, for, as it had not originated with the Irish, but had been merely issued by the Pope's legate, they do not appear to have observed it. At the next synod, several years afterward, there still existed the former number of bishops, and the new archiepiscopal divisions of the former synod were not recognized or even alluded to. At this synod, however, several other decrees were put forth in reference to the clergy, and in regard to church lands, which were to be

[1] *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 274.

exempt from taxes; and the former decree was reaffirmed, which required "that the diverse and schismatic usages with which Ireland was deluged, should be conformed to the one Catholic and Roman office."[1] The enactment of these, and the required observance of other peculiarities of Romanism, afford ample evidence of the dissimilarity between the two churches. Their differences were not transient nor local, for "Ireland was deluged" with them.

In this work the Romanizing party found another and an efficient helper in the person of Malachy O'Morgair, a priest and a descendant of one of the most powerful families of Ireland. He was esteemed the holiest and the most disinterested bishop of his day, and was then surpassing all his cotemporaries in his efforts to bring the Irish Church into communion with the See of Rome and with the primates of England. For this purpose he went all the way to the imperial city, where he was received with distinguished favor, cardinals and dignitaries vieing with each other in their attention to him; and, on his departure, his holiness gave him his stole and manuple, and affectionately dismissed him with the kiss of peace and the apostolic benediction.[2]

In returning, St. Malachy stopped at the celebrated Abbey of Clairvaux, where he formed a life-long friendship with the no less celebrated St. Bernard. St. Bernard had previously written many hard things against "the stubborn, stiff-necked and intractable Irish," but on becoming person-

[1] *Moore's History of Ireland*, p. 239, American edition.

[2] It is worthy of notice that he was the first one in Ireland who was thus regularly canonized by Rome. Previous to this we cannot find that St. Patrick, or any of the early worthies of the Irish Church, had ever been thus noticed. Nor have we met, before this, one instance in which the Irish Christians applied the word "saint" to either their ministers, churches, or even to the four evangelists. Those in Ireland to whom the prefix "saint" is now applied received it long afterward, and not until the church was Romanized.

ally acquainted with St. Malachy, he was so charmed that he declared "he could find no words to express his admiration for the Irish saint." They were equally delighted with each other, for they were mutually and intensely bent on the accomplishment of the same object, the Romanization of the Irish Church. On reaching home, St. Malachy sent the French abbot a number of young ecclesiastics from Ireland, that they might be taught more perfectly the order of the abbey, but really that they might be more perfectly Romanized.

On the decease of Malachy, St. Bernard wrote his life, in which he incidentally reveals several important facts in relation to the introduction of Romanism into Ireland. Among them he eulogizes the hero of his epic as the honored churchman who had first [*de novo*] introduced into Ireland the doctrine that confession, confirmation, and marriage were sacraments of the church. "Before this," he says, "the Irish were ignorant of them, or had neglected them."[1] He further adds that "the apostolic constitutions and the decrees of the holy fathers, especially the holy customs of the Church of Rome, did he [Malachy] establish in all the churches of Ireland." Finally he extols him for his efforts in securing to the Irish Church "the palliums [badges of union], which," he says, "from the beginning to his day [A. D. 1139] the Irish had not had."[2] Here, then, is docu-

[1] *Bernard's Life of Malachy*, quoted in *Catholic Religion*, p. 123, Dublin, 1839. Also in *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 275.

[2] Before his acquaintance with Malachy, and while reproaching the "intractable Irish," St. Bernard made some very uncatholic disclosures. Speaking of the number of their bishops in Ireland, he said: *Sed singulæ ecclesiæ, singulos haberent episcopos,* "Every single church has its bishop."—*Bernard's Life of Malachy* in *Ussher*, vol. IV, pp. 322–25. This declaration is in agreement with the general history of Ireland at this time, that at least every principal church had its parochial bishop; for, as Bishop Ussher asserts, "previous to the

mentary testimony from St. Bernard, and other Roman Catholics, that the Irish Church, so late as the beginning of the twelfth century, had not yet been taught the doctrine of the seven sacraments, nor had she yet received or practiced "the holy customs" or the liturgy of Rome. The assertion of some Roman Catholics that the Irish had once observed them, but at this time had discontinued them, is wholly gratuitous. There is not a vestige of evidence in its support. Indeed, at this period, the Irish Church still retained much of its former integrity and independence. There were yet many things remaining in her form of worship and ecclesiastical government which were highly displeasing to the bishops of Rome. Great numbers of the Irish clergy were married, and openly avowed their wedded relation; the badges of the formal submission to the Roman See had not been presented or accepted; tithes had not yet been introduced; Peter's pence had not been paid, nor was there any permanent system of support for the hierarchy which the Pope was then, for the first time, establishing.

In A. D. 1152, Pope Eugenius sent Cardinal Papyrio to Ireland, as his legate, to call a synod, and to incorporate the Irish Church into the See of Rome. The cardinal called the synod at Kells, distributed the Pope's palliums, and passed through the prescribed forms of the ecclesiastical union. This union, however, such as it was, was full seven hundred years after the commencement of the Irish Church. Although

eleventh century, neither the name nor the grade of archbishop existed in Ireland." Consequently there was no hierarchy, nor any general concentration of the church. St. Patrick, in his letter to Coroticus, seven hundred years before, simply styles himself "*a bishop resident in Ireland.*" Ninnius, in his History of the Picts, as quoted in Ussher, vol. IV, p. 276, says "that St. Patrick ordained or appointed 360 bishops." Geraldus complained, in the twelfth century, that one single Irish bishop ordained another; and Henry II made the same complaint to the Pope.

during the last two centuries there were many individuals, bishops, and perhaps some entire churches, more or less in sympathy with Rome, yet this was the first overt and official union of the two churches. Here we should be careful to consider the nature and the extent of this union.

After the ordination of the Danish bishops by those of England, in A. D. 1038, there were really two church organizations in Ireland: the old native one, and that of the new Dano-Irish, which was in full and strong sympathy with the papacy. Thus, then, when we read of synods over which the Pope's legates presided, we must not suppose that they were composed wholly, or even largely, of the old native clergy. They were not. 1. It is absurd to believe that, on the call of two papal synods, the old native organization of seven hundred years' standing would at once dissolve and merge itself into the new one, which it had resisted so many years before. 2. It seems evident that the decrees and ecclesiastical divisions of the first papal synod could not have been put forth by the native Irish clergy, for they were never carried out, or even afterward alluded to for many years. 3. About twenty years from this time we find the old native Synod of Armagh still in existence, deploring and protesting against the slaughterings and devastations of the English, whom the popes had sent over to Ireland to bring the Irish to "canonical conformity."

What was the first work of the Pope's legate on his arrival in Ireland? It was not to promote piety, literature, or morality; it was simply to incorporate the Irish Church into that of Rome, and to establish a hierarchy. For this purpose his first effort was to *concentrate* the entire power of the Irish Church, by again attempting to dispense with more than one-half of her former bishops; by dividing the whole kingdom into four great archiepiscopal sees; by removing the lay incumbents from Armagh, and by securing its reve-

nues to the church; by instituting a system of tithes; claiming St. Peter's pence; and, in fact, by bringing in the whole regime of Rome where it had never existed before.[1]

Several other decrees were sent out at this time, but their character, and all the circumstances attending them, most evidently show that they were initiatory of an entire new order of church government. At this synod, Cardinal Papyrio presented the palliums sent by the Pope to the four archiepiscopal dioceses of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam. These palliums were presented and received as investitures, pledging the recipients and their successors to fealty and obedience to the popes of Rome. Nothing of this kind had ever taken place before in Ireland, except in the case of the Danish bishops; and theirs was also an initiatory process incorporating the Dano-Irish into the body of the Roman Church. The presentation and reception of these badges had long been an object of great solicitude, both in Rome and with several of the most prominent bishops in England and Ireland; for, until they had been thus publicly presented and received, there was something still wanting in the estimation of both parties in regard to a full and

[1] As we progress, new facts are continually arising to prove the former independence of the Irish Primitive Church. From the intrusion of these lay incumbents upon the Church of Armagh, we may safely infer, that previous to the eleventh century the popes of Rome had no authoritative jurisdiction in Ireland. Haverty, in his *Catholic History*, recently published, p. 152, says: "There had been, previous to A. D. 1111, a succession of eight lay and married intruders, usurping the titles of St. Patrick's successors in Armagh." These eight incumbents may have at least occupied the chair of St. Patrick for the space of eighty or a hundred years. Who can believe that Rome, in the zenith of her power, would have allowed such an outrage for so long a time upon her supremacy, if she had had all this while authoritative jurisdiction in Ireland? The first effort that Rome made to remove this usurpation was in A. D. 1152. When it was undertaken, it was soon done.

accomplished union. These measures were inaugurated by the Romanizing party in Ireland. While they were in progress, as before intimated, there seems to have been a strange apathy among the Irish, which can only be explained on the supposition that they considered this new organization as belonging to the Dano-Irish, and one that did not interfere with them.

This synod will be forever noted for its introduction of the system of tithes, "the direful spring of woes unnumbered," which for seven hundred years has cursed poor Erin, and often reddened her otherwise beautiful fields with blood. The Irish Church, though at this time to some extent Romanized, did not ask nor desire this measure. The Italian legate, no doubt at the command of the Pope, enjoined it wholly on his assumed apostolic authority. According to Dr. Lanigan, the Catholic historian, this decree concerning tithes "was very badly obeyed, if obeyed at all, until the establishment of the English power in Ireland." "Before this," says Mr. Moore, "there was no mention in our annals of any other source of ecclesiastical revenue than voluntary contributions and the avails of the termon, or free lands, for the support of the several churches."[1] These parcels of land, however, were neither large nor numerous, and their avails in many cases went to the monasteries or seats of learning; so that the laboring clergy must have depended almost wholly upon the voluntary support of the people. The introduction of tithes was wholly a papal measure, and was among the first steps toward the establishment of a hierarchy; for without the former the latter cannot well exist. They mutually and necessarily sustain each other.

There was still another matter of great importance brought before this council by the Pope's legate, which was the preva-

[1] *History of Ireland*, pp. 240–41.

lence of marriage, or concubinage, as the Romanists were pleased to call it, among the clergy. These marriages, however, were open and acknowledged, and, with a few exceptions, had always existed from the commencement of the church. St. Patrick's father and grandfather were ecclesiastics and married men, and the first synods of Armagh speak of the marriage of Christian ministers as of a common and acknowledged relation.

Thus we see how tardily the Primitive Church of Ireland was Romanized. It was three hundred years before she conformed to Rome in regard to Easter; six hundred and seventy years before she officially acknowledged Roman supremacy; and more than seven hundred before she wholly submitted to Roman celibacy.

Until this period the Romanization of the Irish Church went on rather slowly. There was yet something more wanting by the popes and their assistants to carry it into effect. Consequently, they were continually looking for some help from the secular arm. At last that help arrived. Breakspear, an Englishman, zealous in the interest of his native country, was chosen to the popedom, taking the title of Adrian the Fourth. Some time before this, Henry Plantagenet had become king of England, assuming the name of Henry the Second. For a long time they had had their respective objects in view, and now they could mutually assist each other in their accomplishment. Henry had long coveted the possession of Ireland, but had no shadow of a title to it—even according to the loose ideas of right at that day. But as Adrian was esteemed the universal bishop, it was supposed that he could grant him one. Then Henry, the most profligate of all the Norman kings, was suddenly seized with a concern for the honor of religion, particularly for that in Ireland. Accordingly, he drafted a memorial, which he well knew would be in agreement with the views

and the interests of his holiness, and in it he entreated the Pope, "for the love of God and the honor of religion, to exercise his authority and to rescue the Irish Church from its present and deplorable condition."[1]

Accordingly, John of Salsbury was dispatched to Rome with this memorial, which was the hypocritical prelude to all his future doings. He was kindly received, and the Pope and the envoy mutually deplored the degeneracy of the Irish, and soon they formed what they called "the Holy League," which, in its future development, surpassed in fraud, robbery and bloodshed, most of the darkest deeds of that dark age. Adrian, as universal bishop, in A. D. 1155, fifteen years before it was made public, and as many before the invasion of Ireland, then gave to Henry a secret bull[2]

[1] At this period, and for a century afterward, it is evident that the Irish Church was not considered orthodox, nor in agreement with the Papal Church of England. Henry, in the above declaration, seems to have spoken according to the general opinion. Even the poets and the Catholic population of the country thought with him; hence, the old versifiers justified the subjugation of Ireland, because she would not correct her heresies. We have only space for two out of many such proofs:

"For King Henry conquered Ireland
By papal doom—for errors—
Thus held full long, and would not been correct
Off heresies, with which they were infect."

Another versifier of that day justifies the Pope for giving Ireland to Henry:

"Ireland to Henry le Fitz
That conquered it, for their great heresies."

See similar paragraphs, quoted in *Ussher*, vol. IV, p. 365.

[2] This is called a secret bull, because it was given personally and privately to Henry II, who kept it fifteen years before he proclaimed it. It appears that he wanted the honor of conquering Ireland solely by his own might, but when he found the task harder than he expected, he divulged it to intimidate the Romanized soldiers.

for the conquest of Ireland. Notwithstanding that pledges had been given, at the Synod of Kells, by some Irish bishops, yet as these had not been carried out, Pope Adrian seems to have considered Ireland as not yet a Christian nation.

The entire drift and phraseology of the grant are just such as we would reasonably suppose the Pope to have used, if he were about to establish a Catholic Church where none had existed before.[1] He commends Henry as a Catholic prince "for his intention to *extend the limits* of the church, and to *announce* the truth of the Christian religion to an ignorant and barbarous people;" and again he applauds him for wishing "to *plant* a seed that is pleasing to the Lord, and to propagate the religion of Christ."

After these compliments, the Pope invests him with authority in the following words: "Thou shalt enter that island, and execute whatsoever thou shalt think conducive to the honor of God, saving the right of the church and the annual payment of one penny from each house to St. Peter."[2] This planting, seeding and extending the limits of the church, could not have been applied to any unoccupied portion of Ireland, for Christianity had existed there for seven hundred years, and had long before extended to every inch of its territory.

If the above words in Adrian's bull did not apply to the extension of the limits of the Roman Catholic Church where they had not before existed, then the words in this connection have no meaning. If Ireland, as the Roman Catholics assert, had been a papal church from the beginning, though now it had fallen from its original integrity, yet even then the words *seeding*, *planting*, and *extending*, would not have been applicable: for all these terms are *initiatory* in

[1] See the text of Adrian's bull in Haverty's recent *History of Ireland*, p. 144, New York, 1866, translated from the Vatican manuscript by Dr. Kelley.

[2] *Ibidem.*

their meaning. The words of Pope Alexander III, who, twenty years afterward, ratified the bull of Adrian, are also of the same import. He said to Henry II: "The filth of that land [Ireland] being eradicated, a barbarous nation may be enrolled under a Christian name; through your instrumentality it may henceforth follow the name of the Christian profession."[1]

Incidental evidence is said to be the best of evidence. Here is evidence of that kind, which implies that these popes did not, at the time of their writing, A. D. 1155, consider the Irish to be Catholics, or in their church; hence their peculiar phraseology. The Irish Church at this period was seven hundred years old, and "planting, seeding and extending the limits" of Christianity, had taken place and was completed centuries before these popes were born; but now this "planting, seeding, and extending," were really the *planting* of Romanism where it had never before existed. It has been said that no one truth stands wholly alone, but that it must be immediately or remotely connected with other truths, and that this connection generally gives the words in relation to it their proper and definite meaning. It is true in this case.

Henry, on landing in Ireland, after several conflicts with the natives, found that his hope of an easy subjugation was fallacious. Then he resorted to the authority of the Pope, and for the first time published the contents of the bull that had been given him fifteen years before. His object in its publication was to intimidate the Irish by their superstitious fear of the Pope. This device, however, was but partially successful, for most of the Irish soldiers fought bravely for their home and country. But the Pope's bull increased divisions in a nation that had been lamentably

[1] *Haverty's History of Ireland*, p. 144. Translated by Dr. Kelley, from the Vatican copy.

divided before. The insidious and long-continued purpose of the popes and their agents, the archbishops of Canterbury, to fasten popery upon Ireland, was at last only consummated by superstitious intimidation and "the steel-clads" of the Normans. In the accomplishment of this work were committed some of the darkest and bloodiest deeds that had been perpetrated in that dark and terrible age.

Let us now take a view of the condition of the Irish Church in the twelfth century, or at the time when Gilbertus, the first papal legate, began to exercise his office in Ireland.

In the beginning of this century, when the military power of the Danes had long been broken, their feelings toward the natives were very much softened. The Irish, on their restoration to political supremacy, generally manifested a very conciliatory disposition toward those who had been so recently their enemies and oppressors. Very few acts of retaliation were committed. The warm-hearted natives appear soon to have forgotten their wrongs, and had there been no other invasion, and no foreign influence exerted, there was a fair probability that the two races would have coalesced, much to the advantage of both. But unhappily, by the ecclesiastical organization of the Danish bishops, by the Archbishop of Canterbury in England, opposing interests were created, and much of this merging process was arrested. Some years afterward, on the invasion of the Anglo-Normans, it was wholly stopped. In their lust of power, the latter invaders, acting on the infernal policy, "divide and conquer," began to malign the natives, so as to make them appear despicable in the eyes of the Danish descendants, and thus the existing national prejudice was greatly intensified. Hence we see that there were then two ecclesiastical organizations on the same ground and at the same time. This fact must be evident from the existence and acts of the next synod.

The Synod of Armagh, A. D. 1170, was not called by the popes nor by King Henry. It was called by the bishops and elders of the old Irish Church. We particularly present it here, as an additional evidence that the recent synods and organizations of the popes had not yet superseded those of the old native church. It was called on the invasion of the Anglo-Normans, "the steel-clads," "the scourge of God," as this synod denominated them, who were then mowing down the untrained and unorganized Irish like grass.

The Pope did not call this synod. How could he? He had already commissioned Henry II to conquer Ireland, and "to plant a seed that would be pleasing to the Lord." This appears to have been his manner of accomplishing it.

This venerable body, after deprecating the divine displeasure upon them on account of their sins in general, and calling upon the nation to humble itself before God by fasting and prayer, "declared that this calamity was inflicted upon them on account of their sins, and more especially because that in time past they had made bond slaves of the English, whom they had purchased, as well from merchants as from pirates." The synod then unanimously decreed and ordered "that all the English throughout the island who were in a state of slavery should be restored to their former freedom."[1]

[1] Anglorum namque populos adhunc integro eorum regno communi gentis vitio, libros suos venales exponere, et, priusquam inopiam ullam aut inediam sustinerent filios proprios et cognatos in Hiberniam vendere consueverant, unde et probabiliter credi potest, sicut venditores olim, ita et emptores tam enormi dilecto juga servitutis jam meruisse.—*Geraldus Cambrensis*, quoted in *Moore's History of Ireland*, p. 256.

For some time previous to the English invasion it seems that the horrid practice of slavery had been quite extended. Seyer, in his History of Bristol, says: "It seems to have been a fashion among the people of property in Ireland to be attended by English slaves."

From the call and the acts of this synod we have ample evidence that the old native Church of Ireland was not yet dissolved. This synod, composed wholly of the native clergy, was held fifty years after the Pope's legate had assumed the government of the Irish Church, and twenty years after its quasi or formal union at the Synod of Kells. This, with many other incidental circumstances, sufficiently shows that the great body of the Irish people were not connected with the plans of the Pope. The churches were yet far from being united; hence the next council, which was called to unite them.

The great reformatory Synod of Cashel was called, A. D. 1172, by Henry II, ostensibly to reform the Irish Church, but really to establish popery and his own power. All the complaints against the church were, in themselves, quite insignificant, and really only pretexts to cover ulterior and iniquitous purposes. As we have already seen, in regard to the Synod of Armagh, two years before, the great body of the native clergy did not attend it nor regard its decrees; for seven years afterward, when Geraldus visited Ireland, he wrote, "that Irish marriages were solemnized as formerly, and that the tithes were yet unpaid." Dr. Lanigan also says, "they were not collected till after the establishment of the English power." In truth, it may be asserted that it was several hundred years after the English invasion before there was any considerable conformity of the Irish to the English Papal Church, and still longer before the nation would substitute the law of the invaders for their own ancient and venerated Brehon code. Mr. Moore, himself a Roman

William of Malmesbury "describes the number of young English slaves, of both sexes, who used to be shipped off from Bristol to Ireland, tied together by ropes," and attributes to St. Ultan, an Irish saint, the suppression of this traffic.—*Moore's History of Ireland*, p. 257.

Catholic, when writing about the state of the churches in A. D. 1322, one hundred and fifty years after this period, says: "The attempt made by the Synod of Cashel [A. D. 1172] to assimilate the Irish, in its rites and discipline, to that of the English Church, entirely failed of its object, and the clergy and the people continued to follow their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the decrees of that memorable synod had never been made."[1] This was about two hundred years after the quasi union of the Irish Church with Rome.

From a study of this period, in connection with the Irish Church, we have come to the following conclusions: 1. That about the time of the Reformation the great body of the Irish people and the poorer clergy were really far more in agreement with the teachings and aspirations of the Reformation than the *then* Church of England; for many important elements or views in the new movement were very near akin to those for which the Irish Church had been contending for centuries. 2. That, at this time, there were many chieftains or minor kings who had no good feelings toward the popes. They had not yet forgotten how Rome had sold their nationality and the independence of their church; nor how she had treated their petitions and remonstrances; nor how, after repeated protestations, she had allowed, unrebuked, a horde of tyrants to devastate their country. 3. Had the Reformation come to the Irish in their own language and through their own ministry, or in any other way than it did, there is every probability that they would have received it. We are greatly strengthened in this opinion by Dr. Todd, of the Protestant Church of England, who, in his recent Life of St. Patrick, thus writes: "It was English oppression, not their religion, that made the hatred." "If the Reformation," says the doctor, "had come to them in an Irish dress and language, and through their own priests,

[1] *Moore's History of Ireland*, p. 268, American edition.

they would have received it. But as it was, they rejected it at once without examination."[1] What were the circumstances under which the Reformation was presented to the Irish people? It came to them, as it could only come at that time, through the English of the pale. There are moral impediments as well as mental and physical ones. At that time the English were a foreign people to the Irish, of another language, and of other views and interests, who were then robbing them of their lands, plundering and outlawing them on their own soil, and who had been fighting them for nearly three hundred years, to destroy their government and nationality. Further, it so occurred that at the first presentation of the Reformation there commenced, under Queen Elizabeth, a most desolating and sanguinary war against the entire Irish nation. It certainly would have required very superior wisdom in any people to have received truth through such a channel and under such circumstances. The Saviour's rule is to judge the tree by its fruits. This exposition of the new faith was certainly not of a conciliatory nature. When this objection was added to existing national antipathies, the Irish rejected the entire Reformation at once without examination.

Another circumstance greatly damaged the new faith in the estimation of the Irish. As so many nations were now opposed to England, the people appear to have thought the present juncture a favorable one to expel them wholly from the island, and for this purpose they sent chieftains and ecclesiastics to almost every Catholic country in Europe. They received, however, no material aid, but ultimately much spiritual injury. While the dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church, particularly those of France and Spain, sympathized with these visitors, they were very careful to indoctrinate them more fully into Roman Catholicism than

[1] *Todd's Life of St. Patrick*, p. 143, Dublin, 1866.

they ever had been before, and to represent the new movement as an uprising against God and religion. Thus they returned to Ireland embittered against the Reformation, and mainly because the English were the leaders in it. All who have acquainted themselves with the affairs of these times, know very well, that after the Reformation, Romanism in Ireland assumed a deeper and a darker type.

Much more might be presented in proof of the independence and the dissimilarity of the Irish Primitive Church from that of Rome, but it seems unnecessary. We will conclude by simply saying again, that all the circumstances attending these ecclesiastical meetings give ample evidence that Rome, during this century, was then for the first time assuming the government of the Irish Church.

From the preceding pages it must appear very evident that Roman Catholicism was so far from being the original status of the Irish Christians, that it required centuries of papal appliances to force its doctrines and usages upon them. They were thus very slow in receiving, or rather in submitting to the creed and the ordinances of the popes of Rome. This tardiness was continued very long; as Mr. Moore himself acknowledges that, so late as A. D. 1322, the "people of Ireland continued to follow their own ecclesiastical rules," as if the papal decrees had never been made. This tenacity to the spirit and usages of their original church, which they loved so well, seems to have continued in various, though unorganized forms, until it approached almost or quite to the times of the great Protestant Reformation.

If the Irish Christians had been as slow, during the next one hundred and ninety years preceding the Reformation, in learning the popish rules and ordinances of the then English Church, as they had been in the one hundred and seventy years before, they would have found themselves, on the eve of this great Protestant movement, a great way

behind a conformity to the Roman Catholic Church. Had we space, this want of conformity, in many particulars, might be readily shown.

The Irish have always been a religious people. Few infidels or schismatics have ever appeared among them. Perhaps no people have suffered more on account of religion than they, both in its pure and in its vitiated form. From the fifth to the eighth century they held and practiced perhaps the purest form of Christianity of any of the nations of Europe. For three hundred years they had battled with the pagan Danes for their faith and nationality. In this struggle, unhappily, their church lost much of her spirituality and former integrity. During the next one hundred and fifty years, the emissaries of Romanism were stealthily and steadily diffusing their errors among them, until they had vitiated and weakened the whole nation; and then military force and ecclesiastical superstition were employed to subject them. It is a fact worthy of notice, that the Irish people were never subjected politically until they had been previously subjected mentally and morally by Romanism. The mind was enfeebled before the feet were manacled. While they kept their first faith and the simplicity of their church order, they maintained their national independence. It took the Roman See one hundred and fifty years, aided by the English Romanists, and their subordinates, the Danish bishops in Ireland, before it could break down the religious spirit of the people, and bring them to receive the dogmas and ritual of Rome. The Irish, of all the nations of Europe, were the last to submit to the papal yoke, and we presume they will be the last to cast it off. Their Celtic tenacity will be, most probably, as firm in holding fast to their present errors, as it had been formerly in holding on to the truth. If ever their eyes should be opened to see the injury that popery has done them; how it sold them to their

enemies; bartered away their nationality and the independence of their church; how it has often sided with their oppressors, even when they were Protestants; and how it has labored even recently to crush every attempt of the nation to regain its former liberty—if the people of Ireland shall ever discover the continuous acts of injustice which Romanism has perpetrated upon them, they will spurn it from them with a will and an intensity at least equal to the strength and steadiness with which they have unhappily clung to the papacy through all their calamities for the last four hundred years.

A brighter day is now dawning upon the people of Ireland. The cloud of popery that for centuries has obscured the evangelism of their early church is passing away. It is not so very long since the entire nation has had an opportunity of knowing what were the real principles of the Reformation. Mr. Macaulay justly says: "The Irish were neglected. No pains were taken to provide the nation with instructors capable of making themselves understood. No translation of the Bible was put forth in the Erse language. The government contented itself with setting up a hierarchy of archbishops, bishops, and rectors, who did nothing, and who, for doing nothing, were well paid out of the spoils of the former church."[1] It was two hundred and fifty years after the establishment of a church to teach the new faith, that cost annually nearly eight millions sterling, before the people had the Bible, Prayer Book, or any Protestant book that nine-tenths of them could understand.[2] Thank heaven, that oppressive political and unevangelical "stumbling-block," is now being removed.

[1] *History of England*, book II.

[2] If it were not lamentable, it would be laughable to review the inconsistency of the past. A people suffering penalties and disabilities for not embracing a system when they had no means of knowing what

A better day is coming. Evangelical light is beaming forth. At the beginning of this century, the Dissenters and Wesleyans opened Sunday-schools in Ireland. The children flocked to them. The Roman priesthood, in self-defence, were obliged to get up similar ones. Then the church as by law established, after a sleep of centuries, to maintain her standing, was compelled to do so likewise. Here was competition. Children were in demand. These churches have been vieing with each other to present to the little ones the greatest attractions. The result is, it is affirmed, that there are now more children in Ireland who can read than there are in either England or Scotland. Even learned, classic Scotland is in danger of losing her prestige. In two of these schools, the Holy Scriptures are read and studied, and although in the other one only the catechism is used, yet, as all are taught to read, and as Bibles and Testaments are scattered like leaves in autumn, none can be kept long from the reading of God's word.

The mystic love of country is an undying affection in the Irish heart. Many floods of desolation and centuries of sorrow have not yet been able to quench it. Its continuance for seven hundred years, under the most calamitous circumstances in history, seems to be an indication of the future resurrection of the Irish as a nation. This *amor patriæ* is none the less on account of the poverty and humiliation of the object of its affection:

it was. They were well supplied with a host of their own papal priests, and with another army of salaried officers, civil and ecclesiastical, and a military police of about 30,000 men, but of bibles, schoolmasters, and a Protestant working ministry, they were generally destitute for more than two hundred years. Their neighbors across the channel had the Bible in their own native tongue two hundred and seventy years before the Irish had. Their own priests did not want them to have the Scriptures, and those of the new faith employed no means to furnish it.

"More dear in thy sorrows, thy gloom and thy showers,
Than the rest of the world in their sunniest hours."

Ireland has done much for the diffusion of literature and Christianity in our world. During the dark ages, the best missionaries of that period went from her shores. Since then, although she has sent abroad a host of Roman Catholic priests, yet, within the last century, she has sent to foreign countries more Gospel ministers than any other portion of Christendom of equal size and population.[1] Between the politicians and the priests, of both orders, Papal and Protestant, her people have been robbed of their land, fleeced of their earnings, kept in poverty and long deprived of education and other elevating influences of the Gospel, yet, Erin,

"Thy sun is rising while others have set,
Though slavery around thy morning has hung,
The full sun of freedom shall rise on thee yet."

This will come, when the double curse of popery and foreign domination shall have passed away, and when a full and a pure Christianity shall have renewed the hearts and enlightened the minds of that ancient, religious, and long-injured people.

[1] Dr. Butler, after an extensive correspondence with all the annual conferences of the M. E. Church, ascertained, several years ago, that there were two hundred and sixty-seven members of the northern conferences who had been born in Ireland.

APPENDIX.

PREFACE TO ST. PATRICK'S CONFESSION.

AMONG the early Christians, a Confessor was one who, at the risk of his life, had openly avowed his belief in Christ, and his continued adhesion to Him. In this sense, the word Confession seems to have been used in the time of St. Patrick. Some have regarded his Confession as an autobiography; but while it contains several biographical notices, it is not properly such. It is not a consecutive narrative; it is nearly destitute of dates and placee; while it wholly omits some of the most important transactions of his life. It is properly a written acknowledgment of the special providences of God, which he had *experienced* in connection with the establishment of Christianity in Ireland. Viewed in this light, it is only capable of adequate comprehension.

This Confession was written in Latin, near the close of his life, or about A. D. 455. The Latin text is carefully copied from the original, in Migne's *Patrologia*, volume LIII, page 801, Paris, 1847. The *Patrologia* is a collection of the texts of the Christian Fathers, from the first to near the sixth century. M. Migne procured his copy from the Ballandists and Baronius, all of whom are Roman Catholics, and scholars of acknowledged integrity, without the least leaning to Protestantism. This we mention in support of the authenticity and genuineness of this copy. For more than a thousand years, the Roman Catholics have proudly claimed St Patrick as exclusively their own, and most Protestants carelessly or ignorantly have acquiesced in their claim; thus giving to error an advantage which no subsequent argument can recover. All the Romanism of St. Patrick, if any, must be found in the following Confession. That an intelligent decision may be made in the premises, we give the original text and a translation in parallel columns, that all may judge for themseves.

In regard to the translation, St. Patrick's Latinity is neither classic nor even mediæval. It is what some good scholars have pronounced "homely." All this, however, is in perfect keeping with the man and his times. The saint generally acknowledged himself *indoctus*, an unlearned man, which was only so comparatively. If he had been educated in Latin, it was only the *Latina rustica*, spoken on the western shores of Gaul; and thirty-four years disuse of it could not have improved so poor a beginning. It has been found very difficult to translate such Latin, and the difficulty has been increased by the lack of connection between the different sections. It is now supposed that the leaves of the original manuscript must have been strangely transposed, as there are frequently such abrupt disconnections.

We trust, however, that the meaning is brought out; although it has been nearly impossible to render it in smooth pleasant English without impairing the sense or losing the animus and characteristic simplicity of the author. A fair rendering of the sense is all that is claimed for it.

A few notes have been appended, which appear really necessary to make the various parts intelligible. This Confession must be the dernier resort in regard to the Romanism of the Apostle of Ireland. If it is not found here, it can be found no where. Beside this Confession, the only authentic composition which he has left us is an Epistle to Coroticus, a letter of expulsion from the church, which, however contains nothing particularly doctrinal. Other writings have been attributed to him, but they are not allowed to be genuine. All his Romanism, if any, is here. Again we say, no one can understand St. Patrick, nor the church which he founded, without reading his Confession.

ST. PATRICK'S CONFESSION.

Copied from the LIII Volume of the Patrologia, with a Translation.

EGO Patricius peccator, rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium, et contemptibilissimus apud plurimos, patrem habui Calpornium diaconem, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit in Vico Bonavem Taberniæ: villulam Enon prope habuit, ubi capturam dedi. Annorum eram tunc fere sedecim. Deum verum ignorabam; et Hiberione in captivitate adductus sum, cum tot millibus hominum, secundum merita nostra, quia a Deo recessimus et præcepta ejus non custodivimus, et sacerdotibus nostris non obedientes fuimus, qui nostram salutem admonebant: et Dominus induxit super nos iram animationis suæ, et dispersit nos in gentibus multis, etiam usque ad ultimum terræ, ubi nunc parvitas mea esse videtur inter alienigenas. Et ibi Dominus aperuit sensum incredulitatis meæ, ut vel sero rememorarem delicta mea, et ut converterer toto corde ad Dominum Deum meum; qui respexit humilitatem meam, et misertus est adolescentiæ et ignorantiæ meæ, et custodivit me antequam scirem eum, et antequam saperem vel distinguerem inter bonum et malum, et munivit me et consolatus est me, ut pater filium.

I, Patrick, a sinner, the rudest and the least of all the faithful, and the most inconsiderable among many, had for my father Calpornius, a deacon, the son of Potitus, a presbyter, who lived in the village of Banavem of Tabernia*—near the hamlet of Enon, where I was captured. I was about sixteen years old. But I knew not the true God. And I was led away into captivity to Hibernia,† with a great many men, according to our deservings; for we had gone away from God and had not kept his commandments, and were not obedient to our pastors, who admonished us of our salvation. And the Lord brought down upon us the anger of his Spirit, and scattered us among many nations to the ends of the earth, where my poverty was seen among strangers. There the Lord opened to me a sense of my unbelief, that I might remember my sins, and that I might be converted with all my heart unto the Lord my God, who had looked upon my humility and had compassion on my youth and ignorance; and who kept me until I was wise, or could distinguish between good and evil, and who kept and comforted me as a father would a son.

* Some copies, according to the Ballandists and Abbe Migne, add, the son of Odissus, and instead of Potitus, as in the text, they have Photius. In the early History of St. Patrick, nearly all the names are of Greek, rather than of Latin derivation. Was the Irish Church of Greek origin?

† Dr. Lanigan, the Catholic ecclesiastical historian, thinks that Banavem was the ancient name of the present Boulogne, in France, and consequently the place where St. Patrick was born. This account of the saint's captivity synchronizes remarkably with the Irish annals that record the predatory excursions of the Irish chieftains, particularly with those of Niall of the Nine Hostages.

II. Unde autem tacere non possum, neque expedit quidem, tanta beneficia et tantam gratiam quam mihi (Dominus præstare) dignatus (est) in terra captivitatis meæ: quia hæc est retributio nostra, ut post correctionem vel agnitionem Dei exaltaremur, et confiteremur mirabilia ejus coram omni natione quæ est sub omni cœlo: quia non est alius Deus, nec unquam fuit nec erit post hunc, præter Deum Patrem ingenitum sine principio, a quo est omne principium, omnia tenens, ut diximus: et hujus Filium Jesum Christum, quem cum Patre scilicet fuisse semper testamur, ante originem sæculi, spiritualiter apud Patrem, inenarrabiliter genitum ante omne principium, et per ipsum facta sunt visibilia et invisibilia, hominem factum devicta morte, in cœlos ad Patrem receptum. Et dedit illi omnem potestatem super omne nomen cœlestium et terrestrium et infernorum, ut omnis lingua confiteatur, quia Dominus et Deus est Jesus Christus [*Philip.* ii: 10, 11]: quem credimus, et exspectamus adventum ipsius; mox futurus judex vivorum et mortuorum, qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua, et infudit in nobis abunde Spiritus sancti donum et pignus immortalitatis, qui facit credentes et obedientes, ut sint filii Dei Patris et cohæredes Christi, quem confitemur et adoramus, unum Deum in Trinitate sacri nominis. Ipse enim dixit per prophetam: Invoca me in die tribulationis tuæ, et liberabo te, et magnificabis me [*Jer.* xxix: 12. *Psal.* lxxx: 8]. Et iterum inquit: Opera autem Dei re-

II. But I am not able to hold my peace;* neither to show forth properly all the blessings and the grace which the Lord has vouchsafed to show me in the land of my captivity. This was our gracious recompense, that after our amendment, and acceptance with God, we were exalted and allowed to profess his marvelous works before every nation which is under Heaven. For there is no other God, neither ever was, or ever will be after this, except God the Father Almighty, who is without beginning, and from whom is every beginning, upholding all things, and that we may make known His Son Jesus Christ, as we have always testified, who was before the beginning of the world, spiritually with the Father, inexpressibly born before every beginning, through whom everything visible and invisible were made; and being made man, and having died, was received into the heavens with the Father. And to him is given all power, above every name that is in heaven or on the earth, or that is beneath, that every tongue may confess that Jesus is the Lord God, in whom we believe, and for whose coming we are waiting; who soon will be the judge of the living and the dead, and who will render to every one according to his deeds, and will pour out upon us abundantly the gift of the Holy Spirit and the pledge of immortality; who will also make those who believe and are obedient to become the sons of God the Father and joint heirs with Christ, whom we confess and adore one God, in the Trinity of that sacred name. For he himself spoke by the prophet, "Call upon me in the day of your trouble and I will deliver thee, and thou wilt magnify me." [*Jer.* xxix: 12. *Psal.* lxxx: 8.]†

* Here probably began some of the careless transpositions of the original leaves of St. Patrick's manuscripts. Hence the frequent disconnections of the various sections. This will be found in several places, and it will require close attention to reach the meaning.

† St. Patrick appears to have been a great lover of the Scriptures. In this short narrative he quotes and appeals to them no less than twenty-five times, although

velare et confiteri honorificum est. [*Tob.* xii: 7.]

And again, it is said, It is honorable to reveal and announce the works of God. [*Tob.* xii: 7.]

III. Tamen etsi in multis imperfectus sum, opto fratres et cognatos meos scire qualitatem meam, ut possint perspicere votum animæ meæ. Non ignoro testimonium Domini mei qui in psalmo testatur: Perdes eos qui loquuntur mendacium [*Psal.* v: 7], et iterum: Os quod mentitur occidit animam. [*Sap.* i: 11.] Et idem Dominus in Evangelio inquit: Verbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines, reddent pro eo rationem in die judicii. [*Math.* xii: 36.] Unde autem vehementer (debueram) cum timore et tremore metuere hanc sententiam in die illa, ubi nemo poterit se subtrahere vel abscondere, sed omnes omnino reddituri sumus rationem etiam minimorum peccatorum ante tribunal Christi Domini. Quapropter olim cogitavi scribere, sed usque nunc hæsitavi. Timui enim ne inciderem in linguam hominum: et quia non legi, sicut cæteri qui optime itaque jure et sacras litteras utroque pari modo combiberunt, et sermonem illorum ex infantia nunquam mutaverunt, sed magis ad perfectum semper addiderunt.

III. Notwithstanding in many things I am imperfect, I desire my brethren and relatives to know my state, that they may be able to understand the vow of my soul. I am not ignorant of the testimony of my Lord, who, in the Psalms, testified "Thou wilt destroy those who speak lies." [*Psal.* v: 7.] And again, "The mouth that lies kills the soul." [*Wisdom*, i: 11.] And again, the Lord, in the Gospel, says "The idle word which men speak, they must give a reason for it in the day of judgment." [*Matt.* xii: 36.] Hence I ought, with fear and trembling, to be extremely careful of this sentence in that day, where no one is able to withdraw or to hide himself, but every one of us must render an account of even the smallest of our sins before the judgment-seat of Christ the Lord. On this account, for a long while I have thought to write, but until this time I have hesitated. For I have feared lest I should fail in human language, because I have not read, as others have, who have so abundantly drank in both civil and sacred learning, and who, from infancy, have never changed their speech, but rather who have been always adding to it, unto its perfection.*

three of them are from what we now call the Apocrypha, which, however, was then incorporated with the Greek of the Seventy, which seems to have been the version, or at least a translation from it, which he used. And here it is especially worthy of notice, that in this Confession, or his other composition, St. Patrick never appeals to any other authority than the Scriptures. He never even mentions the Pope, nor appeals to any of the apostolical fathers, nor to any foreign council or church. When, as on the expulsion of Coroticus, he was required to avow his authority, he simply said, he "was a bishop constituted in Ireland," and that "what he was, he had received of God." *Constitutum episcopum à Deo accepi id quod sum.—Patrologia*, vol. LIII, p. 801. Here is no appeal to Rome, or any other authority; to any ordination or commission, other than from God.

* All through his writings St. Patrick frequently refers to his deficiency in learning. This deficiency is very apparent in his Latinity, in the great simplicity of his style, and in the inartistic arrangement of his ideas. This acknowledgment of rusticity and want of education is also in perfect keeping with himself, his position, and history. But it does not harmonize with the account of his mediæval biographers, who, to supply scanty materials, assert that he studied with St. Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre; that he accompanied Lupus to put down the Pelagian heresy in Britain; that he went to Rome, and that he spent several years in a monastery

IV. Nam sermo et loquela nostra translata est in linguam alienam, sicut facile potest probari ex saliva scripturæ meæ, qualiter sum ego in sermonibus instructus atque eruditus; quia inquit Sapiens: Per linguam dignoscitur et sensus, et scientia, et doctrina veritatis [*Eccli.* iv: 29]. Sed quid prodest excusatio juxta veritatem, præsertim cum præsumptione? quatinus modo ipse appeto in senectute mea, quod in juventute non comparavi, quia obstiterunt (peccata mea) ut confirmarem quod ante non perlegeram. Sed quis me credit? Etsi dixero quod ante præfatus sum; adolescens, imo pene puer imberbis capturam dedi, antequam scirem quid peterem, vel quid vitare debueram. Unde ego hodie erubesco et vehementer pertimeo denudare imperitiam meam, quia diserti brevitate sermonis explicare nequeo, sicut spiritus gestit et animus, et sensus monstrat et affectus. Sed si itaque datum mihi fuisset, sicut cæteris, verumtamen non silerem propter retributionem. Et si forte videtur apud aliquantos me in hoc præponere cum mea inscitia et tardiori linga (scriptum est enim: Linguæ balbutientes velociter discent loqui pacem. *Isa.* xxxii: 4), quanto magis nos appetere debemus qui sumus, inquit, Epistola Christi, in salutem usque ad ultimum terræ, etsi non diserta, sed rata et fortissime scripta in cordibus vestris, non atramento, sed Spiritu Dei vivi. [*II Cor.* iii: 2, 3.]

IV. Now, my speech and conversation have been changed to a strange tongue, so that he who is instructed and learned can easily prove by the style of my writing of what kind I am; because by our speech, Wisdom says, our feelings, opinions, and doctrinal truths are distinguished. [*Eccl.* iv: 29.] But what does an apology profit, by the side of reality, especially by anticipating how much I have obtained in my old age of that which, in youth, I did not get, because my sins hindered it, so that I was not established in what I had read? But who credits me? Although I will say what I had said before: that being young, a mere boy, and beardless, I was captured before I knew what to ask or what I should avoid. Hence, to-day, I am ashamed and greatly fear to expose my inexperience; for, being in want of words, I am unable to explain myself; but the spirit bears out the meaning, and shows at once both the sense and the accomplishment. But if it had been given to me, as to others, yet I would not have been silent on account of the retribution to me. So it may seem that, to some extent, I am placed, with my dull and tardy speech, as it is written: "The tongue of the stammerer has learned to speak peace readily." [*Isa.* xxxii: 4.]* Now, therefore, we who are said to be the epistles of Christ, ought to strive the more earnestly to send his salvation to the ends of the earth; not going back, but being epistles known and strongly written in your hearts, not with ink, but by the Spirit of the living God. [*II Cor.* iii: 2, 3.]

on an island in the Mediterranean. His Confession abounds with internal evidence of the falsity of these statements, and of their inventions in regard to his movements in other instances.

* It is here worthy of remark, as is asserted by Bishop Ussher, that the quotations of the early Irish writers are all from the Greek Septuagint, which they translated, or received from a translation, into Latin. This seems to be an evidence, among many others, that there was a greater affinity and intercourse, at that time, between the Irish and the Greek Church, than there was between it and the Latin Church of Rome. Indeed, we do not recollect that St. Patrick ever spoke, or even alluded to the popes, Rome, or any of the peculiarities of that church.

V. Et iterum Spiritus testatur: Et rusticatio ab Altissimo creata est [*Eccl.* vii: 16]. Unde ego primus rusticus perfuga, indoctus scilicit qui nescio in posterum providere: sed scio illud certissime, quia utique priusquam humiliarer, ego eram velut lapis qui jacet in luto profundo: et venit qui potens est, et in sua misericordia sustulit me; et quidem scilicet sursum allevavit et collocavit me in summo pariete. Et inde fortiter debueram exclamare, ad retribuendum quoque aliquid Domino ei pro tantis beneficiis ejus, hic et in æternum, quæ mens hominum æstimare non potest. Unde autem admiramini magni et pusilli qui timetis Deum [*Apoc.* xix: 5], et vos ignari Domini rhetorici: audite ergo et scrutamini quis me stultum excitavit de medio eorum qui videntur sapientes esse et legis periti, et potentes in sermone et in omni re. Et me quidem detestabilem hujus mundi præ cæteris inspiravit, etsi tales essem: dummodo autem ut cum metu et reverentia et sine querela fideliter prodessem genti ad quam caritas Christi transtulit, et donavit me in vita mea, si dignus fuero: denique, ut cum humilitate et veraciter deservirem illis.

V. And again, the spirit bears witness: that the Most High has established the condition of country life. [*Eccl.* vii: 16.] Whence I was at first, a home-bred boy, a runaway, who was unlearned; I did not know to foresee the result of things. But I knew this certainly, that I should be first brought down. I was like a stone laying in the deep mire, which came up and fell down: but the mercy of the Lord sustained me; indeed, he raised me up and placed me in a large house. Hence I ought mightily to acknowledge it, and to return also something to the Lord for so many of his benefits, here and forever, which the mind of man is not able to estimate. Hence let all, the great and small, all who fear God, adore him [*Apoc.* xix: 5]; and you, too, orators, who are ignorant of God. Hear, therefore, you also, who speculate, and out of your midst call me a fool; who seem to be wise, skilled in the law, powerful in speech, and in everything. And he, too,* who stirs up others against me, as the detestable one of the world; now, although I should be such, yet, while with fear and veneration, and without complaint, I should be very profitable to that nation to which the love of Christ has brought me, and through life has given me the privilege, should I be deemed worthy, to serve them in truth and humility to the last.

VI. In mensura itaque fidei Trinitatis oportet distinguere et sine reprehensione periculi notum facere donum Dei et consolationem æternam, ac sine timore fiducialiter Dei nomen ubique expandere, ut etiam post obitum meum Gal-

VI. It becomes me, in my measure, to distinguish in my belief in regard to the Trinity, and, without the apprehension of danger, to make known the gift of God, and his eternal consolation; and also, without fear, boldly and everywhere to explain the name or the character of God, that after my

* Throughout this Confession there are frequent allusions to a certain unnamed accuser, who appears to have come from Gaul. He is not named, nor are his accusations fully stated; but from what we can learn from the saint's defence, they appear to have been something that he had done in boyhood before his conversion, and from some supposed assumption of power in Ireland, and from the reception of gifts for professional services. All these charges, however, he met and refuted not only with courtesy, but with ability, and in the most amiable spirit.

licis relinquerem fratribus et filiis meis quos ego in Domino baptizavi tot millia hominum. Et non eram dignus neque talis, ut hoc Dominus servulo suo concederet; et post ærumnas et tantas moles, post captivitatem, post annos multos, in gentem illam tantam gratiam mihi donaret, quod ego aliquando in juventute mea nunquam speravi neque cogitavi. Sed postquam Hiberionem deveneram, quotidie (igitur) peccora pascebam et frequens in die orabam, magis ac magis accedebat amor Dei et timor ipsius, et fides augebatur, et spiritus augebatur, ut in die una usque ad centum orationes, et in nocte propre similiter; ut etiam in silvis et monte manebam, et ante lucem excitabar ad orationem per nivem, per gelu, per pluviam: et nihil mali sentiebam, neque ulla pigritia erat in me, sicut modo video, quia tunc in me spiritus fervebat. Et ibi scilicet quadam nocte, in somno audivi vocem dicentem mihi: Bene jejunas, cito iturus ad patriam tuam. Et iterum post paululum tempus, audivi responsum dicens mihi: Ecce navis tua parata est. Et non erat prope, sed forte habebat ducenta millia passus: et ibi nunquam fueram, nec ibi notum quemquam de hominibus habebam.

death I may leave my testimony to my Gallic brethren, and to my sons whom I have baptized in the Lord, so many thousands of men. Now, I was not worthy that the Lord should concede to his little servant so much honor. After sufferings and so much trouble, after my captivity, after so many years, in that nation, that so much favor should be given to me, which, in the times of my youth, I had not hoped for nor thought of. But after I arrived in Ireland; there every day I fed cattle, and frequently through the day I prayed; more and more the love and fear of God burned, and my faith increased and my spirit was enlarged, so that I said a hundred prayers in a day, and nearly as many at night. And in the woods and on the mountain I remained; and before the light I also arose to my prayers, in the snow, in the frost, and in the rain, and I experienced no evil at all, nor was there any sluggishness about me, for then I felt that the spirit was fervent within me. And here, on a certain night, in sleep,* I heard a voice saying to me: "Blessed youth, soon you are about to return to your country." And again, after a little time, I heard a response saying to me: "Behold, thy ship is ready. But it is not near, but perhaps two hundred thousand paces," where I never had been, and where I knew none of the men.

VII. Et deinde postmodum conversus sum in fugam, et intermisi hominem cum quo fueram sex annis. Et veni in virtute Domini qui viam meam ad bonum dirigebat, et nihil

VII. Then, after my conversion, in my departure I left the man with whom I had been six years. And I came, in the strength of the Lord, who had directed my way to that which was good, and I feared nothing until

* Young Patrick, at this time, was in a heathen country, probably without the Scriptures. without a Christian friend, or any means of grace. Spirit can communicate with spirit without the external senses. God did so in olden times, and may have done so in this instance. Dreams are not always of "evanescent stuff." They seem to be significant. 1. When they are consecutive and complete in themselves. 2. When they make a deep and abiding impression in regard to a warning or to duty. 3. When there are outward providences in perfect agreement with the dream, so as to guard us from danger, and to open the way for us to duty.

metuebam donec perveni ad navem illam. Et illa (die) qua perveni, profecta est navis de loco suo, et locutus sum, ut haberem unde navigarem cum illis. Et gubernatori displicuit, et acriter cum indignatione respondit: Nequaquam tu nobiscum appetas ire. Et cum hæc audissem, separavi me ab illis, ut venirem ad tuguriolum ubi hospitabam; et in itinere cœpi orare, et antequam orationem consummarem, audivi unum ex illis fortiter exclamantem post me: Veni cito, quia vocant te homines isti. Et statim ad illos reversus sum; et cœperunt mihi dicere: Veni quia ex fide recipimus te; fac nobiscum amicitiam, quomodo volueris. Et in illa die itaque repuli fugere propter timorem Dei. Verumtamen speravi ab illis, ut mihi dicerent: Veni in fide Jesu Christi; quia gentes erant. Et hoc obtinui cum illis (et protinus navigavimus).

I had come through to that ship. And on the day that I arrived the ship was finished, and ready for its place. I asked that I might have a passage with them. The captain was displeased, and answered sharply, with indignation: "By no means do *you* apply to go with us." Now when I heard this I left them, and when I had come to a tuguriolum [shed], there I was hospitably received. Now, in my coming, I began to pray, and before my prayer was finished, I heard one of them cry out mightily after me, "Come quickly, because these men call you," and immediately I returned to them, and they began to say to me: "Come, now, because in good faith we receive thee. Make friends with us just as you will." Thus, in the very day that I was forced to fly, because of the fear of God, and had separated myself from them, that very night they say to me: "Come, in the faith of Jesus Christ, although we are Gentiles;" and thus forthwith I obtained a passage with them.

VIII. Et post triduum terram cepimus, et viginti octo dies per desertum iter fecimus, et cibus defuit illis, et fames invaluit super eos. Et alia die cœpit gubernator mihi dicere: Quid, Christiane, dicis: Deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est? Quare ergo non potes pro nobis orare, quia nos fame periclitamur? Difficile est

VIII. After three days we reached the land.* And we made our journey through the desert in twenty-eight days. Our food failed us, and famine prevailed over us. On a day the captain began to say to me: "What, Christian, do you say? Is your God great and omnipotent? Why, therefore, are you not able to pray for us, that we should not be endangered by famine? This is a difficulty that some

* But he does not tell us where. He appears, however, to have reached the coast somewhere in the present County of Antrim. In returning home, he may have crossed to some part of North Britain, and the "desert" of which he speaks may have been across that island to the East or German Sea. It is more probable that he may have coasted down to Wales, or the Bristol Channel. and then crossed the island at the south. In this journey, when his company fell short of bread, he exhorted them to seek the Lord, and soon they found food. In all this there was nothing superstitious; no angelic agency; nothing but what has occurred a thousand times since. After this he was honored in the eyes of his companions, and then, that very night, he was wonderfully tempted—a great blessing followed by a great trial—a common case with experienced Christians. He was again captured, but it is not stated whether before or on reaching the eastern shore, nor by whom; but the Lord delivered him out of their hands, and this seems to have been the object in speaking of this captivity.

enim ut aliquem hominem unquam videamus. Ego enim evidenter dixi illis: Convertimini ex fide et ex toto corde ad Dominum Deum nostrum, quia nihil est illi impossibile, ut hodie cibum mittat vobis in viam vestram, usque dum satiamini: quia ubique abundat illi. Et adjuvante Deo, ita factum est. Ecce grex porcorum in via ante oculos nostros apparuit: et multos ex illis interfecerunt, et ibi duas noctes manserunt bene refecti; et carne eorum relevati sunt, quia multi ex illis defecerunt, et secus viam semivivi derelicti sunt. Et post hæc summas gratias egerunt Deo, et ego honorificatus sum sub oculis eorum.

IX. (Et ex hac die abundanter cibum habuerunt.) Etiam mel silvestre invenerunt, et mihi partem obtulerunt. Et unus ex illis dixit. Hoc immolatitium est. Deo gratias exinde nihil gustavi. Eadem vero nocte eram dormiens, et fortiter tentavit me satanas, cujus memor ero quandiu fuero in hoc corpore. Et cecidit super me veluti saxum ingens, et nihil membrorum meorum prævalens. Sed unde mihi venit, ignoro, in spiritum ut Heliam vocarem. Et inter hæc vidi in cœlo solem oriri; et dum clamarem: Heliam! Heliam! totis viribus meis, ecce splendor solis decidit super me, et statim discussit a me omnem gravitudinem. Et credo quod a Christo Domino meo (subventus sum, et Spiritus ejus jam tunc) clamabat pro me, et spero quod sic erit in die pressuræ meæ, sicut in Evangelio inquit (In illa die) Dominus (testatur): Non vos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis. [*Math.* x: 20.]

men of us can never see." I then said plainly to them: Do you be converted to the faith, and with your whole heart unto the Lord our God, for nothing is impossible with him, so that food may be sent to you this day on our journey until you are satisfied, for there is an abundance with him. And now, God sustaining, so it was done. Behold, a herd of swine appeared in the way before our eyes. Many of them they killed, and being well refreshed they remained there two nights. By the flesh of these they were raised up, for many among them were about fainting, or otherwise they would have been left half dead on the way. After this, the highest thanks were given to God, and I was honored in their eyes.

IX. From that day they had an abundance of food, and they also found wild honey and offered a part of it to me. One of them, however, said, This is an offering, a thanksgiving to God, therefore I did not taste it. Now the same night, while I was sleeping, Satan mightily tempted me; the memory of it will exist as long as I am in this body. It fell upon me like a great stone, and prevailed over my limbs. But whence came it to me? Not knowing the spirit, so I called out, Elias.* At this moment I saw the sun to arise in the sky, and then again I called out with all my strength, Elias! Elias! And behold, the splendor of the sun fell upon me, and shook from me all sense of weight. I believe that it was from Christ the Lord: I was assisted by his spirit from that instant. He called for me; and I hope that I shall be so, in the day of my necessity, as it is said in the Gospel (in that day), the Lord testified. It is not you who speak, but the "spirit of your Father who speaketh in you." [*Mat.* x: 20.]

* Dr. Todd, in his recent Life of St. Patrick, Dublin, 1864, says the true reading is "Eli," which. he thinks, was some form of the name of God in the Bible that the saint used; or, as our Lord exclaimed on the cross, "Eli," or "Eloi."

X. Et iterum post annos (non) multos adhuc capturam dedi. Ea nocte prima itaque mansi cum illis. Responsum autem divinum audivi dicens mihi: Duos menses erit cum illis; quod ita factum est. Noçte illa sexagesima liberavit me Dominus de manibus eorum. Ecce in itinere providit nobis cibum et ignem, et siccitatem quotidie: donec quarto decimo die pervenimus ad homines. Sicut superius insinuavi, viginti et octo dies per desertum iter fecimus, ad ea nocte qua pervenimus ad homines, de cibo vero nihil habuimus. Et iterum post paucos annos in Britanniis eram cum parentibus meis, qui me ut filium susceperunt: et ex fide rogaverunt me, ut vel modo ego (post tantas tribulationes quas pertuli) nunquam ab illis discederem. Et ibi scilicet, vidi in visu nocte virum venientem quasi de Hiberione cui nomen Victoricius, cum epistolis innumerabilibus: et dedit mihi unam ex illis, et legi principium epistolæ continentem: *Vox Hiberionacum.* Et dum recitabam principium epistolæ, putabam ipso momento, audire vocem ipsorum qui erant juxta silvam Flocuti, quæ est prope mare Occidentale. Et sic exclamaverunt quasi ex uno ore: Rogamus te, sancte puer, ut venias et adhuc ambules inter nos. Et valde compunctus sum corde, et amplius non potui legere, et sic expergefactus sum. Deo gratias, quia post annos plurimos præstitit illis Dominus secundum clamorem eorum.

X. And some time [not long] after this, I was again seized. The first night that I remained with them, I heard the divine response saying to me, "For two months you will be with them," and so that took place; for sixty days from that night the Lord delivered me out of their hands. And behold, through our journey the Lord provided for us food, fire, and dry lodgings every day, until the fourteenth day, when we came through to the men: As before mentioned, we made our journey through the desert in twenty-eight days, and on the night in which we arrived, our food gave wholly out. And again, after some time, I was with my parents in Brittany, who received me as a son, and confidently entreated me, that after so many years of tribulation through which I had passed, that I never again would go away from them. Now it was here, in the vision of the night, that I saw a man coming, as if out of Ireland, with a very great number of letters, and gave one of them to me. I read the beginning of the letter, which contained these words: *vox Hiberionacum.* When I had read the principal of the letter, I thought that at that very moment I heard the voice of those who lived near the woods of Flocut, which is near the Western Sea. And thus they cried out, as with one voice: "We entreat you, holy youth, that you come here and walk among us." Then I felt extremely touched in my heart, and I could read no more. And then I awoke. Thanks be unto God, because the Lord, after so many years, was ready to answer them according to their cry.

XI. Et alia nocte, nescio, Deus scit, utrum in me, an juxta me, verbis peritissimis quæ ego audivi et non potui intelligere, nisi ad postremum orationis sic affatus est: qui pro te animam suam posuit.

XI. In another night, I know not, God knows, whether in me or near me, I heard one in the most skilled words that I had ever heard; but I was not able to understand, until at the last of the speech, he thus spoke: "Who has laid down his life for my sake?" Then I awoke, and I was

Et sic expergefactus sum gaudibundus. Et iterum vidi in me ipsum orantem, et eram quasi intra corpus meum: et audivi super me, hoc est, super interiorem hominem; et ibi fortiter orabat gemitibus. Et inter hæc stupebam, et admirabar, et cogitabam quis esset qui in me orabat. Sed at postremum orationis sic effatus est, ut sit spiritus. Et sic experrectus sum, et recordatus sum, Apostolo dicente: Spiritus adjuvat infirmitatem nostræ orationis. Nam quid oremus sicut oportet, nescimus; sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus [*Rom.* viii: 26], quæ verbis exprimi non possunt. Et iterum: Dominus advocatus noster postulat pro nobis. [*Ibid.* 34.] Et quando tentatus sum ab aliquantis senioribus meis qui venerunt, ob peccata mea, contra laboriosum episcopatum meum: utique in illo die fortiter impulsus sum ut caderem hic et in æternum. Sed Dominus pepercit proselyto et peregrino propter nomen suum benigne; et valde mihi subvenit in hac conculcatione, quod in labem et in opprobium non male deveni. Deum oro ut non illis in peccatum reputetur occasio: nam post annos triginta invenerunt me, et adversus verbum quod confessus fueram antequam essem diaconus.

exceedingly happy. And again I saw in myself, while I was praying, and I was as if in my body, and I heard over me, that is, over the interior man; and there I prayed mightily, with groanings; and after this, I was stupefied, and wondered; then I thought who this should be which thus prayed within me. But at the last of the prayer, it spoke that it was the spirit. So then I became awake, and I remembered what the apostle says: "The spirit helpeth the infirmities of our prayers, so that what we ought to pray for, we do not know; but the spirit itself asks for us with groaning that is unutterable" [*Rom.* viii: 26], because by words they are not able to be expressed.* And again, the Lord our advocate asks for us. [*Ibid.* 34.] And when I was tempted by some of my seniors, who came against me on account of my sins, and in opposition to my laborious episcopate, so that at a time I was strongly driven to think that I would fall here and forever; but I was benignly spared to the heathen and the stranger for his name's sake; and he exceedingly assisted me in treading down that which had brought this depression and opprobrium upon me, so that no evil befell me. I pray God that this matter may not be reckoned a sin against them; for after thirty years they found me, and laid this complaint against me, which I had confessed before I was a deacon.

* In the tenth and eleventh sections there are recorded two remarkable dreams, or divine communications. The imagery in them is consecutive and complete, and they so deeply impressed him that he ever afterward regarded them as a direct call from God that he should preach the Gospel in Ireland. He passed through a struggle, such substantially as most divinely-called ministers pass through in regard to their call to preach. He "prayed mightily with groaning," and at first hardly knew "what was praying in him." He found it was the spirit. Whether St. Patrick had ever been episcopally ordained, or had ever been sent by any church or council, of which there is no reliable account whatever, this direct and divine call he received and relied upon as his commission to evangelize Ireland. When once speaking of his episcopate he said, "From God I have received what I am" [*à Deo accepi, id quod sum*].—*Epis. ad Coroticus, in Patrologia*, vol. LIII, p. 810. In his Confession, section fifteen, St. Patrick says. "*Sed gubernante Deo, nullo modo consensi, neque acquievi illis, ut ego venirem ad Hiberniam.*" "God directing me, I agreed or consented with no one in coming to Ireland." This does not look like a papal commission. but one directly from God, as it was; and this is the only view that quadrates with all of St. Patrick.

XII. Propter anxietatem, mœsto animo insinuavi amicissimo meo, quæ in pueritia mea, una die gesteram, imo in una hora, quia necdum prævalebam. Nescio, Deus scit, si habebam tunc annos quindecim, et Deum vivum non credebam, neque ex infantia mea; sed in morte et in incredulitate mansi, donec valde castigatus sum, et in veritate humiliatus sum a fame et nuditate; et quotidie contra Hiberionem non sponte pergebam, donec prope deficiebam. Sed hoc potius bene mihi fuit, quia ex hoc emendatus sum a Domino, et aptavit me ut hodie essem quod aliquando longe a me erat, ut ego curas haberem aut satagerem pro salute aliorum; quando tunc etiam de meipso non cogitabam. Igitur in illo die quo reprobatus sum a memoratissupra dictis (ad noctem illam), vidi in visu noctis scriptum contra faciem meam, sine honore. Et inter hæc, audivi responsum (divinum) dicens mihi: Male vidimus faciem designati nudato nomine. Nec sic prædixit: Male vidisti; sed: Male vidimus, quasi ibi se junxit, sicut dixit: Qui vos tangit, quasi tangit pupillam oculi mei. [*Zack.* ii: 8.] Idcirco gratias ago ei qui me in omnibus confortavit, ut non me impediret a profectione quam statueram, et de meo quoque opere quod a Christo didiceram: sed magis ex eo sensi in me virtutem non parvam, et fides mea probata est coram Deo et hominibus.

XII. On account of anxiety, when oppressed in mind, I feigned myself in a most friendly manner, and when in my boyhood I behaved myself at one time only for an hour as I ought not to have done.* I know not, God knows, whether I had then been fifteen years old, and I did not yet believe in the living God, neither had I from my infancy; but I remained still in death and unbelief, until I was truly chastised and humbled by hunger and nakedness. I never went to Ireland of my own free will, but was every day against it, until I was brought down. But this was rather good for me, for from this time, by the help of God, I began to amend, and he prepared me that day for what I should be; but which before had been far from me; to wit, That I should have a care and a great anxiety for the salvation of others. Then after this, I did not think of myself. In the day in which I was blamed by the mentioning of former words, in that night I saw an appearance written opposite to my face, without repute. And after this, I heard the divine response, saying to me: We see a face—a naked name, badly designed. But it does not predict so; you have seen what was evil done: but we have also seen it; as if it were joined to ourselves. But thus it said, "he who toucheth you toucheth as if it were the apple of my eye." [*Zach.* ii: 8.] Therefore I give thanks unto him, who has comforted me on all occasions, so that nothing has hindered me from the accomplishment of that which I had laid down to do, and also of my work, which I had learned of Christ. But rather on account of it, I have felt myself strengthened not a little, and my faith has been proved before God and man.

XIII. Unde autem audenter dico: Non me reprehendit conscientia mea hic et in futurum.

XIII. Therefore I speak boldly: my conscience does not reprove me, for

* This must have been done in Brittany some thirty years before.

Testem Deum habeo quia non sum mentitus in sermonibus quos ego retuli vobis. Sed magis doleo pro amicissimo meo, cur hoc meruimus audire tale responsum, cui ego credidi etiam animam. Et comperi ab aliquantis fratribus, ante defensionem illam, quod ego non interfui, nec in Britanniis eram, nec a me orietur, ut et ille in me absentia, pro me pulsetur. Etiam mihi ipse ore suo dixerat: Ecce dandus es tu ad gradum episcopatus, quo non eram dignus. Sed unde venit illi postmodum, ut coram cunctis bonis et malis in me publice dehonestaret, quod ante sponte et lætus indulserat? Est Dominus, qui major omnibus est. Satis dico: sed tamen non debeo abscondere donum Dei quod largitus est nobis in terra captivitatis meæ: quia tunc fortiter inquisivi eum et ibi inveni illum, et servavit me ab omnibus iniquitatibus. Sic credo, propter inhabitantem Spiritum ejus, qui operatus est usque in hanc diem in me audenter rursus. Sed scit Deus, si mihi homo effatus fuisset, forsitan tacuissem, propter caritatem Christi.

the present or the future. I have God for a witness, that I am not false in the words to which I have referred you; but rather, I grieve on account of my too friendly manner; but why for this should we deserve to hear such replies from one to whom I confided my mind? I have learned from some brethren, before this defence, that I had no difference with any, nor, when I was in Brittany, did any rise up against me! but that he, in my absence, was beaten on my account. Now he said to me with his own mouth, "The episcopal office must be given to you, for which I am not worthy." But afterward when he came here, then, in the presence of all the good and the bad, he publicly disparaged me, and that also which before he had freely and joyfully delighted in. The Lord is he who is greater than all. I say enough. But I ought not to hide the gift of God, which was so bountifully bestowed upon us in the land of my captivity, because then I mightily sought him, and then I found him, and he has kept me from all iniquity. So I believe he will, on account of his indwelling spirit, which has wrought so fully in me to this day; but, on the other hand, God knows. If man should have spoken to me, perhaps I should have been silent; but for the love of Christ I have spoken.

XIV. Unde ergo indefessam gratiam agam Deo meo, qui me fidelem servavit in die tentationis meæ, ita ut hodie confidenter offeram illi sacrificium, ut hostiam viventem animam meam Christo Domino meo, qui me servavit ab omnibus angustiis meis: ut et dicam: Quis ego sum, Domine, vel quæ est vocatio mea, qui mihi tantam divinitatem coöperuisti? ita ut hodie in gentibus constanter exsultarem et magnificarem nomen tuum, ubicunque fuero; nec non in secundis, sed

XIV. Hence I render unceasing thanks to my God, who has kept me faithful in the day of my temptation, so that to-day I may confidently offer unto him a sacrifice, as an offering, a living victim, unto Christ my Lord, who has saved me from all my distresses, so that I may say "who am I, O Lord, and what is my calling, that thou hast covered me with much of the divine glory?" So that this day, among the Gentiles, I may constantly exult and magnify thy name wherever I am; not only in favorable times,

etiam in pressuris: ut quidquid mihi evenerit, sive bonum sive malum, æqualiter debeo suscipere et Deo gratias semper agere, qui mihi ostendit ut indubitabilem eum sine fine crederem, et qui me audierit: ut et ego inscius sim in novissimis diebus hoc opus tam pium et tam mirificum adire aggrederer, ita ut imitarer quospiam illos quos ante Dominus jam olim prædixerat prænuntiaturos Evangelium suum, in testimonium omnibus gentibus, ante finem mundi. Quod ita ergo (ut vidimus itaque) suppletum est. Ecce testes sumus, quia Evangelium prædicatum est usque ibi nemo ultra est.

but in those of trouble, that whatsoever may happen to me, whether good or bad, equally I ought to accept them, and always to give thanks to God who has showed me that I should believe in him with unwavering faith to the end. And who has also heard me, that I may be unconscious of this devout and wonderful work when I shall approach my last days, so that I may resemble some of those whom our Lord had long ago foretold should be the first promulgators of the Gospel, for a testimony unto all nations before the end of the world, so that therefore we might see that it was completed. Behold, we are witnesses, because what was predicted in the Gospels is true, that it has gone where no one was before.

XV. Longum est autem totum per singula enarrare laborem meum, et vel partes. Breviter dicam qualiter piissimus Deus de servitute sæpe liberavit ex duodecim periculis, quibus periclitata est anima mea, præter insidias multas, et quæ verbis exprimere non valeo: nec et injuriam legentibus faciam. Sed dum auctorem habeo, qui novit omnia, etiam antequam fiant (ut me pauperculum pupillum). Ideo tamen responsum divinum creberrime admonuit, unde mihi hæc sapientia quæ in me non erat, qui nec numerum dierum noveram, neque Deum sapiebam: unde mihi postmodum donum tam magnum, tam salubre, Deum agnoscere, vel deligere: sed ut patriam, et parentes amitterem; et munera multa mihi offerebantur, cum fletu et lacrymis: et offendi illos, nec non contra votum, aliquantis de senioribus meis. Sed, gubernante Deo, nullo modo consensi, neque acquievi illis, non mea gratia, sed Deus qui vicit in me, et restitit

XV. It would take long to narrate singly the whole of my labors, or even parts of them. I will speak briefly and in the most devout manner. God very often delivered out of servitude, out of twelve perils in which my life was hazarded, besides many snares which I am unable to express in words, or to make known to the readers my injuries. But while I am the founder, I knew before what has taken place, that I was a poor little destitute boy; therefore, of this, the divine response often admonished me; hence this wisdom that was in me, was not mine, neither had I known many days, nor had I been wise toward God; but afterward, when the great and salutary gift was given me, that I might acknowledge and delight in God. But I left my country, my parents and the many rewards which had been offered to me, and with tears and weeping I displeased them, and some of those who were older than myself; but I did not act contrary to my vow. And so God directing, I consented to no one, nor yielded to them, nor to what was grateful to myself.* God had overcome me and restored all

* This does not look like receiving a commission from Rome. See section XI.

illis omnibus, ut ego venirem ad Hibernas gentes Evangelium prædicare, et ab incredulis contumelias perferre, ut haurirem opprobrium peregrinationis meæ, et persecutiones multas, usque ad vincula, et ut darem ingenuitatem meam pro utilitate aliorum.

other matters; so that I went to Ireland to heathens, to preach the Gospel to them, to bring them from unbelief and increditable reproach. And thus I brought upon myself the opprobrium of a sojourner, many persecutions unto bonds, and also, I gave up my condition as a freeman of birth, for the benefit of others.

XVI. Et si dignus fuero, promptus sum ut etiam animam meam incunctanter et libentissime pro nomine ejus, et ibi opto impendere eam usque ad mortem, si Dominus mihi indulgeret: quia valde debitor sum Deo, qui mihi tantam gratiam donavit, ut populi multi per me in Deum renascerentur, et postmodum consummarentur; et ut clerici ubique illis ordinarentur ad plebem nupervenientem ad credulitatem quam sumpsit Dominus ab extremis terræ, sicut olim promiserat per prophetas, Ad te gentes venient ab extremis terræ, et dicent: sicut falsa comparaverunt patres nostriidola, et non est utilitas in eis [*Jer.* xvi: 19]. Et iterum: Posui te lumen in gentibus, ut sis in salutem usque ad extremum terræ [*Isai.* xlix: 6.]. Et ibi volo exspectare promissum ipsius, qui utique nunquam fallit, sicut in Evangelio pollicetur: Venient ab Oriente et Occidente, et recumbent cum Abraham et Isaac, et Jacob [*Matt.* viii: 11]. Sicut credimus, ab omni mundo venturi sunt credentes.

XVI. And so if I should be deemed worthy, I am ready, willingly and unchangeably, for his name sake to spend my life unto death, if the Lord should thus indulge me. For I am exceedingly a debitor unto God, who has given to me such an amount of grace, that so many through my instrumentality have been born again unto God, and already established: and that also the ministry is everywhere ordained for a people who have so recently come from unbelief, whom the Lord has taken from the ends of the earth, and of whom long ago he promised through the prophet, "To thee the Gentiles shall come from the ends of the earth, and shall say: Thus our fathers procured for themselves false idols; and there was no profit in them." [*Jer.* xvi: 19.] Again, I have placed thee a light for the Gentiles, that thou mayest be for a salvation to the ends of the earth. [*Isa.* xlix: 6.] And for thee I will wait: for thy promise never fails. So in the Gospel, he has promised: They shall come from the East and the West, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. [*Math.* viii: 11.] And so we believe that believers are about to come from all the world.

XVII. Idcirco oportet quidem bene et diligenter piscari, sicut Dominus præmonet, dicens: Venite post me, et faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum. [*Matt.* iv: 19.] Et iterum dicit per prophetas: "Ecce ego mitto piscatores et venatores multos, dicit Dominus." [*Jer.* xvi: 16, *etc.*] Unde autem valde

XVII. Therefore it becomes us to be good and diligent fishers. So the Lord premonished us, saying, come after me, and I will make you fishers of men. [*Math.* iv: 19.] And again, I will send many fishers and hunters, saith the Lord. [*Jer.* xvi: 16.] Therefore it very much becomes us to stretch

oportebat retia nostra tendere, ita ut multitudo copiosa et turba Deo caperetur, ut ubique essent clerici qui baptizarent et exhortarentur populum indigentem et desiderantem, sicut Dominus in Evangelio admonet et docet, dicens: Euntes ergo docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et spiritus sancti; docentes eos observare omnia quæcunque mandavi vobis. Et ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi. [*Matt.* xxviii: 19–20.] Et iterum dicit: Euntes ergo in mundum universum prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ. Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit. Qui vero non crediderit condemnabitur. [*Marc.* xvi: 15, 16.] Et iterum: Prædicabitur hoc Evangelium regni universo mundo, in testimonium omnibus gentibus, et tunc veniet finis. [*Matt.* xxiv: 14.] Et item Dominus per prophetam prænuntians, inquit: Et erit in novissimis diebus, dicit Dominus: Effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii vestri et filiæ vestræ, et filii vestri visiones videbunt, et seniores vestri somnia somniabunt. Et quidem super servos meos, et super ancillas meas, in diebus illis effundam de Spiritu meo, et prophetabunt. [*Joel*, ii: 28, 29.] Et in Osea dicit: Vocabo non plebem meam, plebem meam, et non misericordiam consecutam, misericordiam consecutam [*Osea*, ii: 24; *Rom.* ix: 25; *I Pet.* ii: 10.] Et erit in loco ubi dictum est: Non plebs mea vos, ibi vocabuntur filii Dei vivi. [*Osea*, i: 10; *Rom.* ix: 26.]

our nets, that we may take for God a copious and crowded multitude; that wherever the clergy are they may baptize and exhort the needy and willing people; thus the Lord in the Gospel admonishes and teaches us, saying, going into all the world, baptize them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: behold I am with you every day unto consummation of the world. [*Mat.* xxviii: 19, 20.] And again he said, go therefore into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature: he who believes and is baptized shall be saved, but he who believes not shall be condemned. [*Marc.* xvi: 15, 16] And again, this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a testimony to all nations, and then the end will come. [*Mat.* xxiv: 14.] So the Lord by the prophet has previously announced, saying: In the last days saith the Lord, I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your sons shall see visions and your elders shall dream dreams, and truly upon my servants and upon my hand-maidens in those days I will pour out of my spirit, and they shall prophesy. [*Joel* ii: 28, 29.] And Hosea says, I will call those who were not—my people; and those who had not sought for mercy, shall have mercy. [*Hos.* ii: 24; *Rom.* ix: 25; *Pet.* ii: 10.] And it will be in the place where it was said, you are not my people, there shall be called the sons of the living God. [*Hos.* i: 10; *Rom.* ix: 26.]

XVIII. Unde autem Hiberionæ qui nunquam notiam Dei habuerunt, nisi idola et immunda usque nunc semper coluerunt: quomodo nuper facta est plebs Domini, et filii Dei

XVIII. Therefore the Hibernians, who never had the knowledge of God, but who always until now worshiped idols and impurities, have now lately become the people of the Lord, and are now publicly constituted the sons

nuncupantur? Filii Scottorum et filiæ regulorum, monachi et virgines Christi esse videntur. Et etiam una benedicta Scotta genitiva nobilis, pulcherrima, adulta erat, quam ego baptizavi. Et post paucos dies, una causa venit ad nos: insinuavit nobis responsum accepisse a nuntio Dei, et monuit etiam ut esset virgo Christi et ipsa Deo proximaret. Deo gratias: sexta ab hac die optime et avidissime arripuit illud, quod etiam omnes virgines Dei ita hoc faciunt, non sponte patrum earum, sed persecutionem patiuntur, et improperia falso a parentibus suis: et nihilominus plus augetur numerus, et de genere nostro qui ibi nati sunt, nescimus numerum eorum, præter viduas et continentes. Sed et illæ maxime laborant, quæ servitio detinentur, usque ad terrores et minas assidue perseverant. Sed Dominus gratiam dedit multis ex ancillis suis; nam etsi vetantur, tamen fortiter imitantur.

of God. Sons of the Irish and daughters of the minor kings, monks and virgins of Christ are to be seen. There was one, a blessed Irish lady, noble by birth, beautiful and amiable, whom I baptized. After some days, a certain event occurred among us. There was one who persuaded us to receive the divine response [or assurance] from a messenger of God. He taught us that a virgin of Christ, might approach very near to God. Thanks be unto God: Six from that day, with eagerness and avidity, seized this, to wit: that all virgins of God might become such without willingly leaving their fathers, but that they should be patient in persecution and in the false reproaches from their parents.* Nothing more increased the number, than our own offspring who were born with us; we do not know their number, except by the widows and the continents; but these chiefly were those who labored, or who were hand-maidens held in servitude, and who assidulously persevered against terrors and threatenings. God gave grace to his hand-maidens, for although they were forbidden, the firmer they stood fast.

XIX. Unde autem etsi voluero amittere illas, et ut pergens in Britannias et libentissime paratus eram, quasi ad patriam et parentes: non id solum, sed eram usque Gallias visitare fratres, et ut viderem faciem sanctorum Domini mei. Scit Deus quod ego valde opta-

XIX. And although I should be desirous to leave these, and were prepared, most willingly to go into Brittany to see my country and my parents: and not that only, but when there, to visit my Galacian brethren, and that I might see the faces of the saints of my Lord, which, if God pleases, I exceedingly desire; but I

* These, properly, were neither monks nor nuns, in our present meaning of the words. Monachism did not appear in Europe till some time in the fourth century, and could not have reached Ireland at this time. There were Ascetics in almost every country, one class of whom abstained from all pleasant food, and the other from marriage; but still they lived in society as other Christians. Ascetism sprang from the Essenes or the Gnostics in the first century. Many of the best Christian fathers partially imbibed some of their notions, and it has always, more or less, troubled the Christian churches; but it was not then peculiar to the Roman, or to any particular church. Those referred to here were comparatively very few, and not cloistered monks, for there were none such in Ireland for some centuries afterward.

bam; sed alligatus Spiritu, qui mihi protestatur si hoc fecero, ut futurum reum me esse designat; et timeo perdere laborem quem inchoavi. Et non ego, sed Christus Dominus qui me imperavit ut venirem, esse cum illis residuum ætatis meæ; si Dominus voluerit et custodierit me ab omni via mala, ut non peccem coram illo. Spero autem hoc debueram, sed memet ipsum non credo, quandiu fuero in hoc corpore mortis, quia fortis est qui quotidie nititur subvertere me a fide et a proposita castitate, usque in finem vitæ meæ, Christo Domino meo: Sed caro inimica semper trahit ad mortem, id est, ad illecebras illicite perficiendas. Et scio ex parte, quare vitam perfectam ego non egi, sicut et cæteri credentes. Sed confiteor Domino meo, et non erubesco in conspectu ipsius, quia non mentior: ex quo cognovi eum a juventute mea crevit in me amor Dei et timor ipsius, et usque nunc favente Domino fidem servavi.

am bound by the spirit who protests against me, that if I should do this, I would be marked in future as an accursed one. And I fear that I should lose the labor which I have begun, and not only I, but Christ the Lord, who commanded me; that if I went, I should be with them the residue of my life. If the Lord will, and should keep me from every evil way, so that I do not sin before him: I believe I was bound to do this. But I do not confide in myself as long as I am in this body; because there is a power, which strains itself every day to turn me away from the faith of Christ my Lord, and from my designed chastity until the end of my life. The flesh is inimical and always draws to death, that is, to the accomplishment of illicit allurements. I know in part why I do not lead a perfect life, and also of others who are believers. But I confess to my Lord, and I am not ashamed in his sight, because I lie not; from the time I knew him, from my youth, the love of the God, and his fear, have increased in me, until now, by the help of God I have kept the faith.

XX. Rideat autem et insultet qui voluerit: ego non silebo, neque abscondam signa et mirabilia quæ mihi a Domino ministrata sunt ante multos annos quam fierent, quasi qui novit omnia, etiam ante tempora sæcularia. Unde autem debueram sine sessatione Deo gratias agere, qui sæpe indulsit insipientiæ meæ...Et de loco non in unoquoque, ut non mihi vehementer irasceretur, qui adjutor datus sum et non cito acquievi, secundum quod mihi ostensum fuerat, et sic Spiritus suggerebat. Et misertus est mihi Dominus in millia millium, quia vidit in me quod paratus eram, sed quod mihi pro his nesciebam de statu meo

XX. He* may return and behave insolently if he will: I will not however be silent, nor hide the signal and marvelous things which the Lord has done through my ministry during these many years: he knows all these things, because they have taken place during the present age. Therefore I ought without ceasing give thanks unto God who has so often bore with me, for my want of wisdom. It was not in any one place that he was so angry with me, because I did not quickly acquiesce in the help that had been offered to me, according to that which he had shown me. But so the spirit suggested, and the Lord pitied me in thousands of instances, for he saw in me, that I was ready, but that in my situation I did not know what

* Probably this was the unnamed accuser, who appears to have come from Gaul.

quid facerem, quia multi hanc legationem prohibebant, et jam inter seipsos post tergum meum narrabant et dicebant: Iste quare se mittit in periculum inter hostes qui Dominum non noverunt? Non causa malitiæ; sed non sapiebat illis, sicut et ego ipse testor, intellexi, propter rusticitatem meam. Et non cito agnovi gratiam quæ nunc erat in me: nunc mihi sapit quod ante debueram.

I should do, for in this case they very wrongfully kept back my message, and behind my back, among themselves, they told over and said: The reason is, he placed himself in danger among strangers who knew not God. Now this was not a case of maliciousness, but it was that which did not seem wise to them; so I myself being a witness, understood that it was on account of my rusticity. I did not at once recognize the grace that was in me: now it seems wise to me that I did that which I was bound to do

XXI. Nunc ergo simpliciter insinuavi fratribus et conservis meis que mihi crediderunt. Propter quod prædxi et prædico ad roborandam at confirmandam fidem vestram. Utinam et vos imitemini majora, et potiora faciatis. Hoc erit gloria mea; quia filius sapiens gloria patris est [*Prov.* xi: 1; xv: 20]. Vos scitis et Deus, qualiter apud vos conversatus sum a juventute mea, in fine veritatis et sinceritate cordis: etiam ad gentes illas inter quas habito, ego fidem illis præstavi et præstabo. Deus scit neminen illorum circumveni, nec cogito propter Deum et Ecclesiam ipsius, ne excitem illis et nobis omnibus persecutionem, et ne per me blasphemaretur nomen Domini, quia scriptum est: Væ homini per quem nomen Domini blasphematur [*Lev.* xxiv: 16]. Nam etsi imperitus sum in omnibus, tamen conatus sum quispiam servare me etiam et fratribus Christianis, et virginibus Christi; et mulieribus religiosis, quæ mihi ultronea munuscula donabant et super altare reddebant, ex ornamentis suis, et iterum reddebam illis. Et adversus me scandalizabantur, cur hoc faciebam. Sed ego

XXI. I have not ingratiated myself to my brethren or companions in regard to what they may believe of me; except that what I have said, I will say again, for the strengthening and confirmation of your faith. I wish you to imitate a greater and a mightier pattern; but this will be my glory, that a wise son is the glory of the father. [*Prov.* xi: 1; xv: 20.] You know and God knows, what kind of behavior I have had with you from my youth, in the belief of the truth and in the sincerity of my heart. Moreover in every nation among whom I have lived, I have made known my faith to them and will make it known. God knows that I have defrauded none of them; I think and plan for God and his church; nor have I stirred up any one against them through all our persecutions, lest, through me, the name of the Lord might be blasphemed, for it is written: Wo to that man through whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed. [*Lev.* xxiv: 16.] Although I am inexperienced in many things, yet I try so that in some way I may be serviceable to my Christian brethren, to the virgins of Christ and to the holy women who have willingly given me small gifts, and often have laid some of their ornaments on altar. But I have returned them; they might have brought a reproach against me. Why did I do this? I did this, in the

(hoc faciebam) propter spem perennitatis, ut me in omnibus caute propterea conservarem, ita ut me in aliquo titulo infideles non carperent vel ministerium servitutis meæ, nec étiam in minimo incredulis locum darem infamare sive detrectare.

hope that by constantly doing it, I might thus cautiously keep myself from every suspicion, so that the unbelievers should not catch me in any pretext, or that the administration of my service might not give any place to the unbelievers for evil insinuations or detraction.

XXII. Forte autem, quando baptizavi tot millia hominum, speraverim ab aliquo illorum vel dimidium scriptulæ? Dicite mihi et reddam vobis: aut quando ordinavit Dominus clericos per modicitatem meam et ministerium, gratis distribui illis. Si poposci ab aliquo illorum vel pretium calceamenti mei, dicite; dicite adversus me, et reddam vobis. Magis ego impendi pro vobis, ut me caperet: et inter vos et ubique pergebam causa vestra in multis periculis, etiam usque ad exteras partes, ubi nemo ultra erat, et ubi nunquam aliquis pervenerat qui baptizaret, aut clericos ordinaret, aut populum consummaret, donante Domino, diligenter et libentissime pro salute vestra omnia generavi. Interim præmia dabam regibus, propter quod dabam mercedem filiis ipsorum qui mecum ambulant, et nihil comprehenderunt me cum comitibus meis. Et illa die avidissime cupiebant interficere me: sed tempus nondum venerat. Et omnia quæcunque nobis invenerunt, rapuerunt illa, et me ipsum ferro vinxerunt: et quarto decimo die absolvit me Dominus de potestate eorum; et quidquid nostrum fuit, red-

XXII. Now when I had baptized so many thousands of men, I might perhaps have expected from some of them a half scruple. Tell me of it, and I will pay it back: or, when the Lord ordained ministers, through my management and ministry, I distributed among them thanks, if I have asked from any of them even the price of a pair of shoes, tell me; tell this against me, and I will return to you more than I paid* for you, so that your charge may not be a trial to me wherever I go; even to distant parts, where no one had been before; where none had ever come who had been baptized, or where the clergy had been ordained, or where the people had been received into communion. The Lord having helped me, I have diligently and willingly suggested or planned everything for your salvation. Again, I have given rewards to minor kings, besides that I have given wages to their sons who have walked with me; they provided nothing for me, or my companions. At a certain time they even desired to kill me, but the time had not come; everything which they found with us they seized at once, and bound myself with fetter; but on the fourteenth day the Lord delivered me out of their power, and whatsoever was ours, was returned to

* This reminds us of the prophet Samuel (I Sam. xii: 3). This appeal of St. Patrick, after a residence of at least thirty years among the Irish, is an evideuce of his purity and noble disinterestedness. During his mission he had not lived for himself, but for his people, and, as he said in another place, "he wished to die with them," which he afterward did, in the 78th year of his age, and the 34th of his ministry. What a pity that this great and successful missionary of the fifth century is so little known among Protestants.

ditum est nobis, propter Deum et necessarios amicos quos ante providimus.

us, for the Lord's sake: and as before we provided for them as our indispensable friends.

XXIII. Vos autem experti estis quantum ergo erogavi illis, qui judicabant per omnes regiones quas frequentius visitabam. Censeo enim non minimum pretium quindecim hominum distribui illis. Ita ut me fruamini, et ego vobis semper fruar in Deum, non me pœnitet nec satis est mihi, adhuc impendo et super impendam: potens est Dominus ut det mihi postmodum ut meipsum impendam pro animabus vestris. [*II Cor.* xii: 15.] Ecce testem Deum invoco in animam meam, quia non mentior, quod neque, ut fit, causa adulationis vel avaritiæ scripserim vobis, neque ut honorem sperarem vestrum. Sufficit enim mihi honor qui non videtur, sed corde creditur; fidelis autem qui promisit, nunquam mentitur. Sed video jam in præsenti sæculo me supra modum exaltatum a Domino. Et non eram dignus neque talis, ut hoc mihi præstaret: dum scio certissime quod mihi melius convenit paupertas et calamitas, quam deliciæ et divitiæ. Sed et Christus Dominus pauper fuit pro nobis. Ego vero miser et infelix, et si opes voluero, jam non habeo, neque meipsum (dignum) judico, quia quotidie spero aut internecionem, aut circumveniri, aut redigi in servitutem, sive occasionem cujuslibet. Sed nihil horum vereor propter promissa cœlorum, quia jactavi meipsum in manus Dei omnipotentis qui ubique dominatur, sicut propheta dicit: Jacta cogitatum tuum in Deum, et ipse te enutriet. [*Psa.* liv: 23.]

XXIII. Now you, who are experienced, may therefore judge concerning the amount I have laid out for them, in all the regions which I have so frequently visited. I have taken a list, not at the lowest prices, of what I have distributed to the fifteen men. So that you may receive enjoyment from me and I from you; I always receive enjoyment in God; I do not repent, neither am I satisfied yet; I spend, and will spend more: the Lord is able; so that he may give me shortly, that I may spend my life for your souls. [*II Cor.* xii: 15.] Behold! God is my witness, whom I call, upon my soul that I lie not; that it was not for the cause of praise, or of avarice, that I wrote unto you, neither did I hope for your honor. Sufficient to me is the honor that is not seen, but is believed in the heart: faithful is he who promises, and never lies. But I see now in the present time, that the Lord has exalted me beyond measure. I am not worthy of it, neither of this kind, that it should be presented to me; while I know certainly that poverty and calamity are more becoming for me than delicacies and riches. For Christ the Lord was poor for us. I too would be very miserable and unhappy if I desired riches. But now I have them not; neither do I think them becoming me; for I wait daily, either to be killed, defrauded, or to be driven back again into bondage, or any other occurrence you please. But I fear none of these things, on account of the promise of heaven; because I have thrown myself into the hands of the omnipotent God, who reigns everywhere, who, by the prophet, said "Cast your thoughts upon God and he himself will nourish you." [*Psa.* liv: 23. *Greek translation.*]

XXIV. Ecce nunc commendo animam meam fidelissimo Deo meo, pro quo legatione fungor in ignobilitate mea. [*II Cor.* v: 20.] Sed quia personam non accipit, et elegit me ad hoc officium, ut unus essem de suis minimis minister: Unde autem retribuam illi pro omnibus quæ retribuit mihi. [*Psal.* cxv: 12.] Seu quid dicam, vel quid promittam Domino meo? Quia nihil valeo, nisi ipse mihi dederit; sed scrutatur corda et renes, quia satis et nimis cupio, et paratus eram ut donaret mihi bibere calicem ejus, sicut indulsit cæteris amantibus se. Quapropter non contingat mihi a Deo meo, ut unquam amittam plebem suam quam acquisivi in ultimis terræ. Oro Deum ut det mihi perseverantiam, et dignetur ut reddam illi testem fidelem usque ad transitum meum propter Deum meum. Et si aliquid boni unquam imitatus sum propter Deum meum quem diligo, peto illum det mihi ut cum illis proselytis et captivis pro nomine suo effundam sanguinem meum, etsi ipse etiam caream sepultura, aut miserrime cadaver per singula membra dividatur canibus aut bestiis asperis, aut volucres cœli comederint illud. Certissime reor, si mihi hoc incurrisset, lucratus sum animam cum corpore meo: quia sine ulla dubitatione in die illa resurgemus in claritate solis, hoc est, in gloria Christi Jesu redemptoris nostri. Filii Dei vivi, et cohæredes Christi [*Rom.* viii: 17.] et conformes futuræ imaginis ipsius [*Ibid.* 29]: quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso, regnaturi sumus.

XXIV. Behold! now I commend my soul to my God, who is most faithful, for whom in reproach I perform this mission. [*II Cor.* v: 20.] For he did not accept the mere person; he chose me to this office that I might be one of the least of his ministers; hence I will repay him for all that he has distributed to me. [*Psal.* cxv: 12.] Or what shall I say, or what shall I promise my Lord? For I have no strength, unless he himself should give it to me. He may search my heart and reins, for I cannot desire too much. I am ready, that he should give to me his cup to drink, so only that I may be indulged with all the others who love him. Why nothing can happen to me from my God, that I should ever leave his people, whom he has got in the ends of the earth. I pray God that he may give unto me perseverance, and that I may be deemed worthy, that I may return to him a faithful testimony until my transition to my God. And if I, like some others of the good, at any time am to imitate them [suffer martyrdom] for my God whom I love, I beseech him, that he will allow me with these converted from among the heathens and the captives, that I may pour out my blood for his name's sake, and that he may either bury my flesh, or my poor dead body may be divided in single pieces by dogs, or by wlid beasts, or that the birds of heaven may eat it. Surely I think, if this should befall me, I will gain my soul with my body; because, without any doubt, in that day we will arise in the splendor of the sun, that is, in the glory of Christ Jesus our Redeemer; sons of the living God and coheirs of Christ, we who are conformed [*Rom.* viii: 17] to his future image [*Ibid.*, 29] will hereafter reign by him and through him and in him.

XXV. Nam sol iste quem videmus, Deo jubente, propter nos quotidie oritur, sed nun-

XXV. Now this sun which we see, by the help of God will rise for us

quam regnabit, neque permanebit splendor ejus. Sed et omnes qui adorant eum, in pœnam miseri male devenient. Nos autem credimus et adoramus Solem verum, Christum qui nunquam interibit; neque qui facit voluntatem ipsius, sed manebit in æternum, quomodo et Christus manebit in æternum, qui regnat cum Deo Patre omnipotente et cum Spiritu sancto, ante sæcula, et nunc, et per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen. Ecce iterum iterumque breviter exponam verba *confessionis meæ*. Testificor in veritate et in exsultatione cordis, coram Deo et sanctis angelis ejus, quia nunquam habui aliquam occasionem, præter Evangelium et promissa illius, ut unquam redirem ad gentem illam unde autem prius vix evaseram. Sed precor credentibus et timentibus Deum, quicunque dignatus fuerit inspicere vel recipere hanc scripturam, quam Patricius peccator, indoctus scilicet, Hiberione conscripsit, ut nemo unquam dicat quod mea ignorantia, si aliquid pusillum egi vel demonstraverim, secundum Dei placitum. Sed arbitramini, et verissime credatur, quod donum Dei fuisset. Et hæc est confessio mea antequam moriar.

every day, but he will never reign, neither will his splendor be lasting, but all who worship him will miserably descend into punishment. But we believe in and worship the true Sun, Christ, who will never pass away, who made all things by his own will, but will remain forever, as Christ will remain forever, who reigns with God the Father omnipotent, and with the Holy Spirit, before the worlds were, and now, through all ages of ages. Amen. Behold! again I briefly set forth these words of my Confession. I bear witness in truth and in the exultation of my heart before God, and his holy angels, that I have now had an opportunity, besides the Gospel and its promises, to say: That I will never return to that nation from which with difficulty I left. But I beseech all who believe in God and fear him; whatever their rank may be, to examine and regard this writing which Patrick, a sinner and unlearned, has written in Hibernia: and let no one ever say, that I, through my ignorance, carried forward some little matter; or whether I have shown, that what has been done, was done according to the pleasure of God. But do you decide, that the gift of God is to be most assuredly credited for what has been done. And this is my Confession before I die.

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